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ABSTRACT

The large percentage of women in the teaching profession is not reflected in the percentage of women who are leaders and managers in education. This book discusses why women are not more fairly represented in education management and what positive measures can be taken to redress the situation. It draws on presentations made at the "Equal Advances in Education Management" conference held in Vienna, Austria, in December 1990. Examples of plans already in action and case studies of colleges with "women-friendly" policies and practices are provided. Part 1 contains two chapters that provide an international comparison of the participation of women in educational management. Part 2, comprised of three chapters, examines obstacles to women's progress, including women's combination of career and domestic responsibilities, cultural barriers, and organizational barriers. Six chapters in part 3 offer strategies for improving the situation, such as training programs, recruitment and selection procedures, leave provisions and improved childcare facilities, flexible job arrangements, networks and mentoring, and equal opportunities programs. Two chapters in the fourth part summarize conference issues and describe directions for the future. Eighteen figures and a list of conference contributors are included. (LMI)

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ED 377 547

The Staff College

Women managers in education – a worldwide progress report

by Annelies Ruijs

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Coombe Lodge Report

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Women managers in education – a worldwide progress report

by Annelies Ruijs

Editor: Susan Leather

Coombe Lodge Report
Volume 23 Numbers 7/8

The Staff College

Coombe Lodge Reports

The Coombe Lodge Reports are key reference texts for those involved with the management of post-compulsory education. Each issue focuses on a single theme relevant to the management of further and higher education.

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Women managers in education – a worldwide progress report

by Annelies Ruijs

Contents

FOREWORD	Keith Scribbins Deputy Director The Staff College	519
PART I	**WOMEN AND EDUCATION MANAGEMENT**	
CHAPTER 1:	**Education management and the role of women**	521
CHAPTER 2:	**Participation of women in educational leadership: an international overview**	527
PART II	**BARRIERS TO PROGRESS**	
CHAPTER 3:	**Combining career and domestic responsibilities**	537
CHAPTER 4:	**Cultural barriers in school and society**	555
CHAPTER 5:	**Organisational barriers in education: institutional discrimination**	571

PART III	**STRATEGIES FOR IMPROVEMENT**	
CHAPTER 6:	**Training programmes**	583
CHAPTER 7:	**Recruitment and selection procedures**	599
CHAPTER 8:	**Career break schemes and improved childcare facilities**	613
CHAPTER 9:	**Flexitime, job-share and part-time management**	621
CHAPTER 10:	**Networks and mentoring**	629
CHAPTER 11:	**Equal opportunities programmes**	637
PART IV	**DIRECTIONS FOR THE FUTURE**	
CHAPTER 12:	**Conclusions and outcomes**	655
CHAPTER 13:	**Update and the way forward** Jan Wagstaff Associate Tutor The Staff College	663
REFERENCES AND FURTHER READING		667
CONFERENCE CONTRIBUTORS		671

Foreword

Keith Scribbins
Deputy Director
The Staff College

When you think of a teacher, do you think of a woman or of a man? Now think of a headteacher – which comes to mind this time, a woman or a man? Think also of a college principal or a university vice-chancellor: do you have a female or a male image for these roles?

The fact is that the large percentage of women in the teaching profession is not reflected in the percentage of women who are leaders and managers in educational establishments and authorities – i.e. headteachers, principals, administrators, inspectors, directors, deans etc.

It is also the case that the higher the level of education, the lower the percentage of women managers. The precise percentages vary from country to country, but international statistics confirm the same general, overall picture worldwide.

Why should this be? Women clearly have the ability and experience to become managers. Surely, as a matter of justice, they should take their equal place with men in the running of our educational institutions, at all levels. What is holding women back; and what can be done about it? This inspirational Report examines the issues and puts forward potential strategies and solutions.

This is a special double issue of the Coombe Lodge Reports, and has its origins in a conference organised by The Staff College (under the auspices of the Council of Europe), held in Vienna, Austria, in December 1990. The conference was organised by a group of women from institutions, employers' organisations,

trade unions and local government. As well as securing the support of the Council of Europe, they persuaded four ministers of education and other politicians and commentators from around the world to address the conference. The event was entitled 'Equal advances in education management' and was attended by some 200 delegates from 28 countries.

The conference provided an excellent opportunity for the participants to share their concerns and hopes, to exchange ideas and information, to learn of initiatives and schemes being undertaken and successes achieved, to gain different perspectives from other countries, and to establish networks to carry the impetus forward. The conference was not exclusively for women – men participated too as both delegates and speakers – but its main aim was to discuss why women are not more fairly represented in education management and what positive measures can be taken to redress the balance. After all, what a criminal waste of talents and experience it is if women do not assume their rightful role as equals in education management.

The conference was also a celebration of the particular skills and abilities that women can bring to education management. It was noted that there is a discernible change towards recognition of the real benefits for education that can accrue from the different attitudes and types of ability that women utilise in their style of management. This question of the value of a different style of management is examined in the Report, along with the importance of women leaders as role models for other women teachers and students generally.

The Report does not comprise conference proceedings as such. Rather, the author has drawn substantially on the various speeches, presentations and papers contributed to the international conference and has added her own further research and examination of the statistics in order to present this invigorating account of the current situation for women and how progress can be made in improving matters.

Examples of schemes already in action and case studies of colleges with 'women-friendly' policies and practices illustrate further that it is possible to achieve greater equality.

The Report takes an international perspective and is relevant for all teachers, education managers, and those aspiring to be leaders and managers in education.

PART I: WOMEN AND EDUCATION MANAGEMENT

Chapter 1

Education management and the role of women

Editor's note: throughout the text of this report, quoted items are referred to in one of three ways. References to published materials are cited with the author's surname and date of publication in brackets. References to conference speeches have the quote in speech marks and the speaker's name cited at the end of the quote, along with 'conference speech' if this was not mentioned in the text. References to unpublished conference papers have the author's name and 'conference paper' cited at the end of the quote.

Part I of this report presents an international comparison of the position of women in education management. But first we must be clear what is meant by education management, how people get there, and why it is important to have more women participating.

Education management is used as a term to describe the process of managing education in its broadest sense, from government level down to the institutional level. However, education management as such is not the focus of this report. Here we are interested in the people who are the education managers – i.e. those who are in charge of leading and managing schools, colleges, universities and other agencies. They are called by various names: headteacher, director, principal, education officer, dean or rector etc., depending on the type of institution or school of which they take charge.

How do you become an education manager? In most countries the way to become a headteacher or principal is through gaining experience as a teacher and usually serving as a deputy head for a number of years. There are only a few countries which require specialist training to qualify as a headteacher, although more and more voluntary training courses are offered to enhance the quality of (future) school leaders.

THE IMPORTANCE OF EQUAL PARTICIPATION FOR WOMEN

Several reasons can be given to demonstrate the importance of an equal participation of women in education management. First of all, it is a matter of justice that women should be able to realise their full potential, that in any sector of society they should have their share of positions of authority and the attendant rewards.

In the education sector, which employs a great number of women, it would be a waste of skills and talents not to appoint women to leadership positions. In education especially it is imperative to have more female leaders because of the socialising effect this has on future generations. Both girls and boys can see with their own eyes that it is natural for a woman to be in charge. Female teachers can be inspired by the role model a female principal presents.

Another very important reason is the positive effect women can have on the quality of education. Research done by Charol Shakeshaft and others in the USA, and by Annelies Ruijs in the Netherlands, demonstrates that women possess characteristics that are conducive to good schooling. Shakeshaft, in her book **Women in educational administration**, describes these characteristics in the following way:

(1) *Relationships with others are central to all actions of women administrators.* Women spend more time with people, communicate more, care more about individual differences, are concerned more with teachers and marginal students, and motivate more. Not surprisingly, staffs of women administrators rate women higher, are more productive, and have higher morale. Students in schools with women principals also have higher morale and are more involved in student affairs.

(2) *Teaching and learning are the major foci of women administrators.* Women administrators are more instrumental in instructional learning than men and they exhibit greater knowledge of teaching methods and techniques. (...) Women are more likely to help new teachers and supervise all teachers directly. Women also create a school climate more conducive to learning, one that is more orderly, safer, and quieter. Not surprisingly, academic achievement is higher in schools and districts in which women are administrators.

(3) *Building community is an essential part of a woman administrator's style.* From speech patterns to decision-making styles, women exhibit a more democratic, participatory style that encourages inclusiveness rather than exclusiveness in schools. Women involve themselves more with staff and students, ask for and get higher participation, and maintain more closely knit organisations. Staffs of women principals have higher job satisfaction and are more engaged in their work than those of male administrators.'
(Shakeshaft 1987)

These American findings were confirmed by European research. In a study conducted in the Netherlands, male and female principals were asked to identify their own management style. This showed up some remarkable differences:

> In primary education, women managers spend more time on interpersonal relations, they are more involved in looking for new possibilities, they tend to encourage team spirit more and describe their management style as personal rather than businesslike.

These differences are rather small but they are supported by the opinion of the teachers. The question was whether teachers felt there was a difference between having a man or a woman in charge. To answer this, a representative sample of teachers were presented with a great number of management qualities and were asked to judge male and female principals on these qualities using a five point scale.

The results were very interesting. Female principals received higher (average) ratings than men on a great number of qualities. Women are considered more tactful, they know more about learning and behavioural problems, they are more open in communications and possess more communications skills, they are better at creating a good working

> atmosphere, are more patient and better able to act as a representative of the school. The average female respondent also ranks women higher on the following qualities: flexibility, insight in team functioning, economic use of time, tutoring and stimulating teachers, co-operation and willingness to change. Men only rank higher on the qualities of ambition, authority, self-confidence and businesslike approach.
> (Ruijs 1990)

Shakeshaft compared the female approach to education leadership with the prescriptions for administrative behaviour in effective schools and found remarkable similarities. Principals of effective schools, according to the research:

- emphasise achievement,
- set instructional strategies,
- provide an orderly atmosphere,
- frequently evaluate student progress,
- co-ordinate instructional programmes, and
- support the teachers.

These principals have clear, informed visions of what they want their institutions to become – visions that focus on students and their needs. Such principals:

- translate these visions into goals for their institutions and expectations for the teachers, students and administrators;
- establish a climate that supports progress toward these goals and expectations;
- continuously monitor progress and intervene in a supportive or corrective manner when this seems necessary.

It is, therefore, in the interest of schools and society that more women reach leadership positions in education.

But it is not just a matter of numbers. Josie Farrington, chair of the Council of

Europe's standing conference on local government, articulated the view shared by many that advancing the positions of women in education management is not an end in itself, but a way of opening up new educational opportunities for other women. The Irish conference speaker Dearbal Ni Charthaigh, academic consultant to the European Commission on Equal Opportunities, put it like this:

> 'It is important that women who are women-identified or feminist, who share a certain vision of the future, should be in leadership roles. Until and unless women exercise power in crucial areas of the social structure, such as education, decision-making in the interest of women and girls (...) will not occur.
>
> It is important for the interests of all women that women exercise power in the interests of women. It is not important simply to share in the benefits of an existing power structure without reference to the nature and purpose of power as it relates to women and children.'
> (Ni Charthaigh)

More women, feminist women, in powerful positions may result in a change in the definition of the word power and the policy style and courses of action that go with it. This was a central idea in the speech of Helga Foster, equal opportunities officer from Berlin, Germany. The traditional, male notion of power she described as vertical; it regards the world in terms of top/down and relies on hierarchies and control. It is POWER OVER. Whereas a feminist approach to power can be described as horizontal, as POWER TO. It expresses itself through networking and enabling. Foster used the metaphor of game playing to illustrate these different notions of power:

> 'Men in organisations play CHESS. The idea of the game is to throw your opponent off the field through a number of clever and well calculated linear moves: that explains the need for all the clever and expensive management courses and manuals, the continuous need to create new fashions in management so that you are one step ahead of the others. The ultimate goal is to remain alone on the field as conqueror. The feminist game is to play GO. In GO you encircle and integrate the opponent. This implies that at a certain stage the opponent is part of your system and not someone outside of yourself that you need to fight and destroy.'
> (Foster)

Foster continued that since it is the CHESS style that seems to keep women out

of the power game, a major challenge for feminists in institutions is to create a style that makes it attractive for women to work in them. Women in institutions should see themselves as change agents and innovators instead of fighters or victims. The ultimate goal of the POWER TO strategy is to increase pleasure, not power or control, but pleasure in what one does and how one lives.

POWER TO and the game GO are about revealing and fulfilling full potential, just as education aims to do. Evidence shows that the female approach is closely related to what is needed for the schools of the future. At this stage, however, as the next chapter will show, schools are missing out by not using women's talents and their special style of dealing with leadership in education.

Chapter 2

Participation of women in educational leadership: an international overview

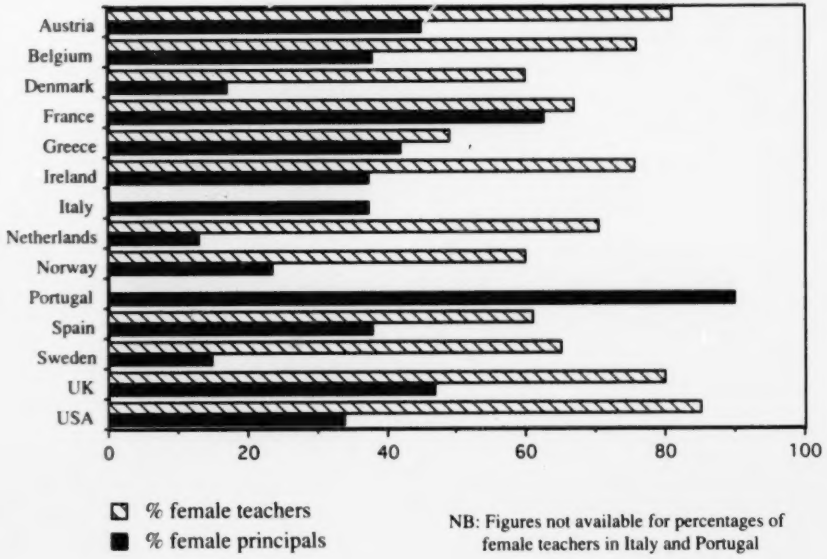
The fact that many women – and even some men – from all over the world attended a conference on the subject of equal advancement in education management shows in itself that there is indeed a problem. The exact nature and size of the problem is not easy to define in general terms. The situation varies from country to country. So do the statistics. Due to differences in educational systems, managerial structures and year of available data, comparisons between countries is slightly hampered. This has to be borne in mind when interpreting the statistical overview that is presented here.

This chapter combines the international statistics that were presented at the conference regarding the representation of women in education management in European and other countries with information from the conference papers and additional research.

PRIMARY EDUCATION

In most European countries, teaching at primary level is largely a female occupation. The percentages of female primary teachers vary from around 80 per cent (UK, Austria) to just under 50 per cent (Greece). Anyone expecting to see the same proportion of women among headteachers would be disillusioned (see **Figure 1**). Only in Greece does the percentage of female headteachers in primary schools somewhat resemble the percentage of female teachers (49 per cent

Figure 1: Female principals and teachers in primary education



Source: Derived from conference presentations and government statistics

women teachers, 41 per cent women headteachers). Most of the countries have a percentage of female heads that is about half that of the female teachers. The most dramatic imbalance is seen in the Netherlands (71 per cent women teachers, 13 per cent women headteachers), in Sweden (65 per cent women teachers, 15 per cent women headteachers) and in Denmark (60 per cent women teachers, 17 per cent women headteachers). A remarkable exception is Portugal: with 90 per cent female heads, the management of primary education is an almost exclusively female domain.

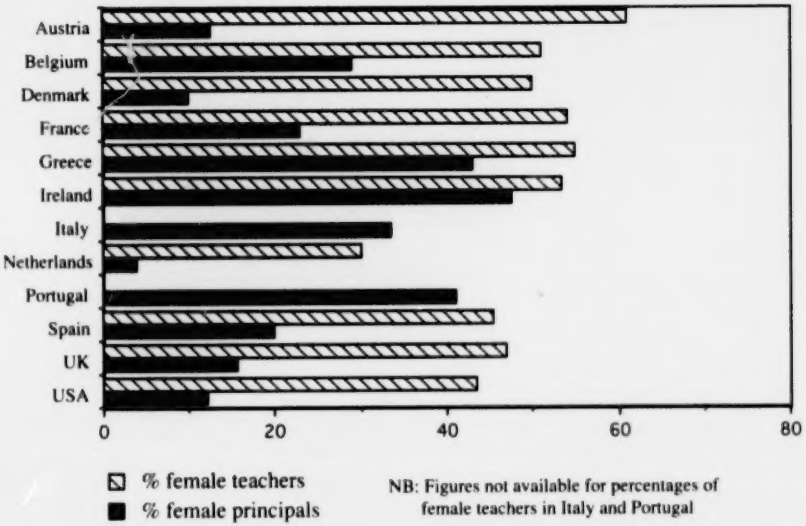
Surprisingly, in Scandinavian countries, known for their exemplary provisions for childcare, maternity/parental leave, percentage of working women and general social policy, the representation of women in school management is far from ideal. On the other hand, countries like Portugal, Spain, Greece and Ireland, not noted for equal opportunities for women, have a much higher percentage of female headteachers. In secondary education the same contrast can be found. Apparently, other factors besides social provisions and emancipatory policy are involved, some of which will be dealt with in Part II of this report.

It is obvious that the chances for men of becoming headteachers in primary education are much greater than those for women. In the Netherlands, for instance, one out of every four men working in primary education is a head teacher. For women the ratio is one to 50. In the UK one in every 14 women compared to nearly every third man is a headteacher. Other countries have similar ratios. This has an impact on the image of the profession of headteacher. Teachers and students will tend to see it as a masculine occupation, which in turn affects their career orientation. The lack of female role models has an adverse impact on the aspirations of women and girls.

SECONDARY EDUCATION

Compared to primary education, the statistics available for compulsory secondary education show that this is less of a female enclave (see **Figure 2**). In most countries about half of the teachers are women; the only exception is the Netherlands with only 30 per cent female teachers. It is interesting to note that as the level of education rises, the proportion of women employed in it decreases. This is also true of management positions. In the average European country the percentage of female principals in secondary and primary education should be about doubled to reflect the percentage of female teachers.

Figure 2: Female principals and teachers in secondary education



Source: Derived from conference presentations and government statistics

The Netherlands and Denmark share the 'honour' of having the lowest percentage of female principals (4.7 per cent and 10 per cent respectively) in secondary education. The highest percentage is found in Greece, with 43.5 per cent female principals. Statistically speaking, the chances for women to become managers in secondary education are in many countries even worse than in primary education. In Austria for example, one in every 13 male teachers is either a principal or a vice-principal. For women the ratio is 1:123. In the Netherlands, the teacher/principal ratio for males is 1:27 and for women 1:230.

Looking at the statistics from a historical perspective, it becomes clear that there is actually a downward trend in many countries. In France there were 31 per cent female principals in 1971, but only 22 per cent by 1990. The Netherlands counted 11 per cent female principals in 1978; 10 years later, there were only four per cent. Australia had 20 per cent female principals in 1971; this diminished to nine per cent in 1983. These are but a few examples. A positive exception is Norway which succeeded in tripling the proportion of women headteachers in primary and secondary education over 10 years, from 8.5 per cent in 1980 to 24 per cent in 1990 (the strategies employed to get this result will be discussed in Part III).

The national statistics for primary and secondary education do not reveal the large differences that exist between rural and urban areas. In some countries women primary headteachers are virtually non-existent in rural areas. Data from Austria show that as many as 70 per cent of Austrian women headteachers are to be found in the capital, Vienna. In the UK a similar phenomenon can be seen in secondary education. Under the reign of the former Inner London Educational Authority (ILEA), the percentage of women secondary headteachers in London rose to 55 per cent, compared with a national average of 16 per cent.

A factor that cannot be identified from the above statistics is that women often manage different types of schools than men. In many countries separate girls' schools still exist and are in large part run by women. In the UK for instance there are still some 250 state maintained girls' schools. Of the total number of women headteachers in secondary education in the UK, 60 per cent are in charge of girls' schools (Early and Weindling 1988). Women leaders are often not represented equally in the various types of secondary schools. In the more prestigious ones especially, their numbers fall far below the average. Most female secondary principals in the Netherlands, for instance, are in charge of vocational schools for domestic education (home economics). But even in that field women are disappearing. In 1978, 47 per cent of these schools were led by women; by 1988 the percentage had dropped to 18. This downward trend is still continuing due

to mergers with other types of vocational schools. In Dutch senior secondary and secondary grammar schools, preparing pupils for college and university, the share of female principals is a mere three per cent.

HIGHER EDUCATION

In higher education (post-compulsory education) it is something of a risk to present the available information in a graph, due to the differences in educational systems, management categories and classifications used in the varying countries. This is especially true for the various types of vocational institution. The few statistics available for this type of education will therefore be presented in the text and must be interpreted with care.

As far as the representation of women in leading positions in universities is concerned, what little information is available suggests that women hardly ever make it all the way to the top. A female rector of a university is a rare breed; only France reported three women out of 68 university presidents. Turkey does better with 10 per cent female higher administrators at university level (whether these posts include the position of university president is not known). Ireland, Spain and the Netherlands have no female leaders of universities. More is known about female professors, also an important leading position in the academic world. **Figure 3** contrasts the percentage of female university teachers with female professors.

Figure 3: Percentage of female teachers and professors in universities, in selected European countries

	% female								
	Tur	Fra	Sp	Gre	Swe	Ire	UK	Ger	Neth
Teaching staff	32	32	25	24	20	16	16	15	12.7
Professors	20	9	7	8	5	1.3	3	2.3	2.6

What is again clear is that the higher the educational level, the lower the number of women present. Once more, southern European countries like Greece, Spain and Turkey have a relatively high percentage of female academics employed in universities, and so does France.

Female representation among teaching staff at universities varies from 15 per cent in Germany to 32 per cent in France and Turkey. This last country presents an interesting case. The enlightened ideas of Atatürk, both on the position of women and on the importance of education, have had their influence on the statistics. Even in a traditionally male field like engineering the percentage of female academics is exceptionally high: 24 per cent. In comparison, the USA has only seven per cent and Germany 9.6 per cent female academics in engineering. Women are also fairly well represented at higher levels in Turkish universities. They occupy 20 per cent of the full professor positions, 23 per cent of associate professors and 27 per cent of assistant professors. Also among administrators there is a relatively large number of females. They make up 16 per cent of all administrators and 10 per cent of higher level administrators. Unfortunately, under the influence of the fundamentalists, the position of women in education and society is under pressure.

Eastern European countries are, regrettably, missing from the statistics presented, due to lack of available information. However, one delegate at the conference was from a Polish university. She did not provide us with national figures but presented the employment pattern of the Maria Curie-Skodowska University in Lublin, the first university to be opened by the communist authorities. Since the communist system expressly forbade any form of discrimination against women, it is interesting to look at these data. Bozenna Blaim, the Polish delegate, stressed that the patterns observed at this particular university can be considered representative of the entire system of Polish higher education.

> In 1987 there were 547 (42.2 per cent) women employed at the Maria Curie-Skodowska University. This is a considerable rise since 1947, when there were only 5.4 per cent female employees. However, women tend to be employed in the junior positions of teaching assistants. The number of women employed in professorial positions has also been rising, though rather slowly.
>
> In 1957-58, 5.7 per cent of heads of department were women; in 1967-68 it was 12.9 per cent; in 1987-88, 9.5 per cent (heads of institutes) and 12.4 per cent (heads of departments) as well as three deputy deans. In the period under discussion women's share of managerial positions has until now never exceeded 15 per cent. Moreover, no woman has ever held the position of rector, and only two have been appointed vice-rectors during the last 46 years.

> During the last two years, women occupied 16.4 per cent of all academic managerial positions and 60 per cent of managerial positions in administration. The latter figure becomes less impressive when it is considered that these are mostly petty positions with very low pay and that nearly 90 per cent of the employees were women. Moreover, no woman has ever been appointed to the post of head of university administration.
> (Blaim, conference paper)

Higher education colleges seem to employ slightly more women teachers than universities. In the UK, Germany, Spain, Denmark and the Netherlands around one quarter to one third of the teaching staff is female. Nevertheless, from the sparse information available one must conclude that at the management level there is an equally low representation of women. Less than one in 10 directors in the UK and the Netherlands is a woman.

In many countries the various types of higher education institution have merged into one large institution. This has often meant a decrease in the number of women managers. It is interesting to look at the data from Austria, a country which still has separate schools/colleges for higher education (see **Figure 4**). As could be expected, the percentage of female directors varies greatly with the type of institution.

Figure 4: Percentage of female principals in certain types of higher education in Austria

Type of institution	% female teachers	principals
Engineering and trades	14	0
Business	54	15
Domestic, commercial, social professions	82	63
Teacher training	35	0

There is an over-representation of women in the traditionally female colleges for the domestic, commercial and social professions. Women are absent in the engineering and trades sector, but what is even more striking is the large gap between the percentage of female teachers and female principals in the business

and teacher training colleges. Especially in the latter, a profession which attracts many female students, the absence of female principals is appalling.

CONCLUSION

This overview of international statistics on the representation of women in education management has shown the following:

- in most western European countries there is a large gap between the percentage of women employed in education and the percentage of women at the head of schools, colleges and universities. This gap is continuing to widen in many countries;

- a remarkable contrast has been revealed. On the one hand, there are countries like Portugal, Greece, Spain and Ireland, not renowned for their social and equal opportunities policies, who have a higher representation of women in education management. On the other hand, countries like Sweden, Denmark, and perhaps also the Netherlands, with rather good social provisions and an explicit policy on women, have the worst representation of all;

- as the level – and status – of the educational institution rises, the proportion of women employed in teaching and leadership positions decreases.

The internationally shared opinion at the conference was that women's under-representation is unacceptable. Not only for the obvious reasons of fairness and justice, but also because it perpetuates a society in which jobs are segregated by sex, and girls and women are limited in their possibilities. Education in particular should set an example in trying to change this.

One last word on the importance of statistics. It has not been an easy task to collect, interpret and compare the various national statistics on women in education management. National authorities sometimes do not differentiate between men and women. More often than not, the information needed is not readily available at one central point, but scattered and hidden. However, information on the position of women is crucial when one wants to improve that position. How else can changes be documented? An effective monitoring system is an important step in the right direction.

PART II: BARRIERS TO PROGRESS

Chapter 3

Combining career and domestic responsibilities

An important determining factor of female participation in the labour market is the social background against which women hold their jobs. For instance, do they work outside the home and also bear the brunt of childcare and domestic responsibilities? Or is the combination of 'caring' and being economically active facilitated by a proper social infrastructure and the partner's active involvement? This question becomes even more urgent when a woman is not just looking for a job, but planning a career. What are the social amenities available to women having children and expecting to work? The first part of this chapter focuses on the questions of leave and childcare. Then follows a discussion of the division of labour within the family. Finally, consideration is given to the consequences for women's career paths, particularly in education.

AUTHORISED LEAVE

With the massive influx of women into the labour force, the relatively new phenomenon of different forms of authorised leave grew considerably in the 1980s and is likely to rise even more during the 1990s. The European Community Commission pointed out several factors influencing this rise (ECC 1990). Firstly, there is the shortage of labour in some member states. Secondly, service sector employers wish to hold on to working mothers by facilitating their re-entry into the workforce, so saving themselves retraining costs. Thirdly, there is the promotion of leave as a contribution to achieving equal opportunities for women at work. A fourth factor is the general growth of waged employment among

women as opposed to being self-employed or family helpers, and a fifth factor is the desire of parents to protect the interests of their children.

The EC Commission report (1990) distinguished three types of leave of interest to women who wish to withdraw from the labour market temporarily and yet retain a guaranteed right to return. These are:

- maternity leave before and after birth;
- parental leave for mothers (and/or fathers) in the months and early years after a birth or adoption;
- family leave for mothers (or fathers) to attend to school, medical and family responsibilities.

Maternity leave

Maternity leave is becoming a relatively standard commodity. This is true in general, but in specific professions it sometimes does not apply. The characteristics of maternity leave vary a great deal from country to country, both in terms of length and of income replacement (see **Figure 5**). Maternity leave in EC countries ranges from 14 weeks (Belgium, Ireland, Germany) to 28 weeks (Italy). Most countries average eight to 12 weeks after birth, and 16 to 20 weeks over the whole pre- and post-natal period.

The United States is the only country represented in **Figure 5** with no provision at national level at all. Other countries have paid maternity leave varying from 12 to 20 weeks. In several countries (Austria, Germany, Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway and Portugal) maternity benefits fully compensate for wages throughout maternity leave. For other countries the wage replacement varies between 60 and 90 per cent. The lowest proportion – 60 per cent – is found in Canada and Japan.

Some countries have eligibility criteria for maternity benefit that rule out a large number of working women. In the UK, for instance, two years continuous employment with the same employer is the criterion. In addition, women in the UK have no guarantee of being reinstated in the same job; they have to accept alternatives offered by the employer (NB: there are to be changes in the legislation relating to maternity benefit in the UK). Irish women have to be working 18 hours a week and have six months insured employment in order to

Figure 5: Maternity and parental leave

	Maternity	Parental
Austria	16 weeks. 100% of earnings	Up to first birthday. Fixed allowance in some cases
Belgium	14 weeks altogether; 8 weeks must be taken after birth, the other 6 weeks can be taken before or after. 75% of earnings (82% for first month)	None, but workers can take leave for family or personal reasons
Canada	17 or 18 weeks (according to province), first 2 weeks unpaid. The rest up to 60% of earnings	None
Denmark	4 weeks before birth, 14 weeks after. 90% of earnings (up to a maximum level)	10 weeks. 90% of earnings (up to a maximum level)
Finland	17.5 weeks. 80% of earnings	28 weeks, 80% allowance. Unpaid, up to 3rd birthday
Germany	6 weeks before birth, 8 weeks after (12 for multiple births). 100% of earnings	18 months. Low flat-rate payment for 6 months; payment then depends on family income, so higher income family gets less
Greece	16 weeks, to be taken before or after birth. 100% of earnings	3 months per parent. Unpaid
Ireland	14 weeks altogether; 4 weeks must be taken before birth, 4 weeks must be taken after and other 6 weeks can be taken before or after. 70% of earnings (tax free). Mothers can request additional 4 weeks unpaid leave	None
Iceland	13 weeks; fixed allowance	None
Italy	2 months before birth, 3 months after. 80% of earnings	6 months. 30% of earnings

Figure 5: continued

	Maternal	Parental
Japan	14 weeks. 60% of earnings	None
Luxembourg	6 weeks before birth, 10 weeks after (12 for multiple births). 100% of earnings	None
Netherlands	16 weeks altogether; 4-6 weeks can be taken before birth, 10-12 weeks after. 100% of earnings	Part-time leave has been made possible in the government sector, for 6 months, at 75% of earnings
Norway	12 weeks. 100% of earnings (or 35 weeks, 80% of earnings)	Up to first birthday, paid through social security
Portugal	90 days altogether; 60 days must be taken after birth; other 30 days can be taken before or after. 100% of earnings	24 months. Unpaid
Spain	16 weeks altogether; 10 weeks must be taken after birth and the other 6 weeks can be taken before or after. 75% of earnings	12 months. Unpaid
Sweden	12 weeks obligatory leave for the mother; after that it becomes parental leave. 90% of income	Up to first birthday. 270 days at 90% of earnings, after that a lower flat-rate
UK	18 weeks. 90% of earnings for 6 weeks, low flat-rate payment for 12 weeks; plus 22 weeks unpaid	None
United States	No provision at national level. Some states grant unpaid maternity leave	In some states only, up to 12 weeks. Unpaid

Sources: **Women of Europe Supplement**, no 31, August 1990, p11
Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, **OECD Employment Outlook**, 1990: 8th Annual Review

be eligible for maternity benefit. These criteria exclude as many as two out of three women part-time workers who work less than 20 hours a week (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 1990).

Parental leave

Provisions for parental leave have grown, partly through collective agreements. In many OECD countries it is not paid leave (Australia, Canada, Greece, Japan, New Zealand, Portugal and Spain). In those cases where parents do receive some compensation, it is usually a flat rate which is generally lower than the average wage (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Germany), and sometimes subject to special conditions (France). Only in Nordic countries are the benefits calculated according to a high level (80 – 90 per cent) of former wages, for a certain period.

Figure 6: Family leave

Country	Family leave
Belgium	4 days a year paid leave in public sector for illness of any member of household. Leave provided in collective agreements.
Denmark	Mothers and fathers allowed paid leave on first day of child's sickness. No limit on number of days a year.
Germany	Paid leave for both parents, maximum 5 days per child per year if sick.
Greece	Parents allowed 6 days leave a year for sick child (up to 16) and elderly dependants. Not cumulative. 8 – 10 days if 2 or more dependants. Right of 1 hour/day less work (unpaid) for those with dependants.
Spain	2–4 days leave for illness of spouse and 2–4 days for illness of each child per year.
France	Parents in public sector allowed 12 days paid leave a year. Collective agreements provide leave in private sector.
Ireland	None.
Italy	Unlimited leave for mother or father until child is 3, on production of a medical certificate.
Luxembourg	No leave if child is sick.
Netherlands	1 day paid leave.
Portugal	30 days a year for a sick child and 30 days a year for a sick spouse, 15 days for dependant relative who is ill. Applicable to mothers or fathers separately.
UK	None.

Source: Centre for Research on European Women, 1989

Family leave

Figures for family leave are mainly available for EC member states. Family leave provisions are much more restricted than other types of leave. Where such leave is given, it usually ranges from one to 12 days per year for a child (see **Figure 6**). Only in Italy can a parent take unlimited leave until a child is three years old on production of a medical certificate. Portugal follows with a maximum of 30 days leave for a sick spouse or child and 15 days for a dependant relative.

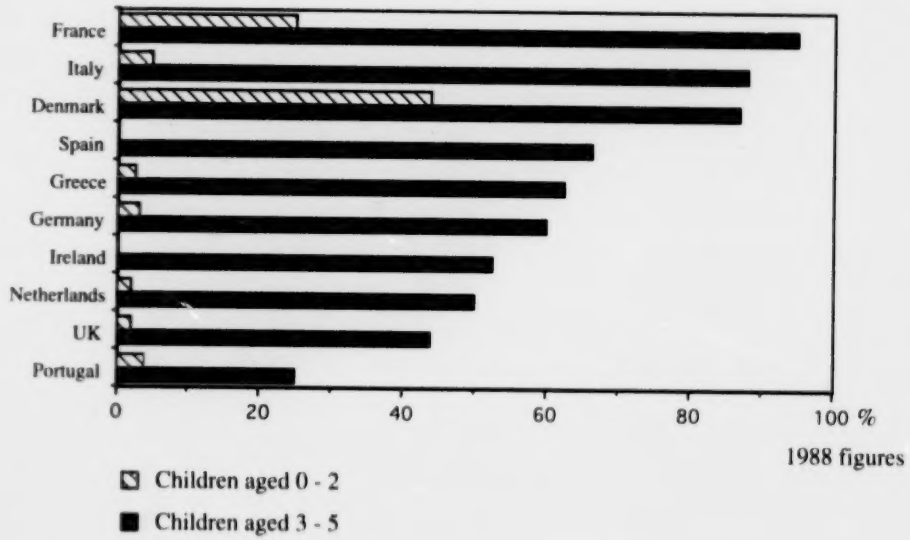
For many women, when parental leave comes to an end or a single income no longer suffices for a larger family, the question of whether or not to return to work arises. At this point, childcare becomes a top priority.

CHILDCARE PROVISION

The availability of public childcare services varies widely across the member states of the European Community (see **Figure 7**). Denmark and France are the only EC countries with a substantial provision for children under three. By contrast, Spain, the Netherlands, Ireland and the UK have very limited provision for less than five per cent of children aged 0 – 2. The share of almost 50 per cent of children aged 3 – 5 accommodated by public childcare in the UK and the Netherlands needs to be considered with caution. The structure of public childcare services in these countries stands out from the other member states because of the large number of playgroup places: playgroups provide two-thirds in England and four-fifths in the Netherlands of all the places available in registered services. This means that nearly all the places provided are part-time since this type of service is usually open for just a few hours a day and the children can only go for a few days a week (OECD 1990). These limited part-time services do not offer a solution to mothers who wish to participate in the labour market. In the Netherlands it has been estimated that the capacity for childcare (in day care centres in particular) would have to be enlarged by 100,000 places to meet the present demand. In another 10 years an additional 150,000 places will be needed for the 1990s generation alone.

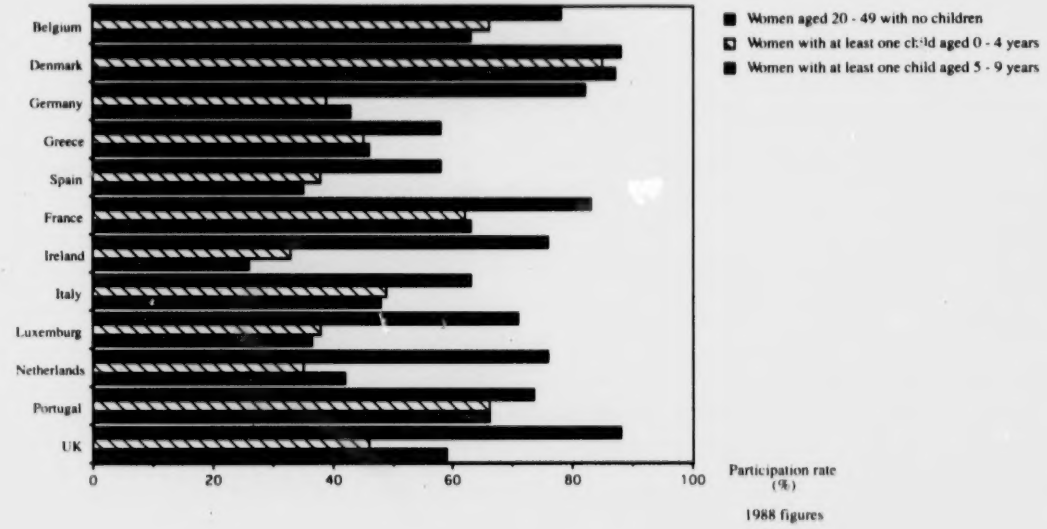
The dual burden for women is worsened by the lack of affordable public childcare. This is felt most by women who have just started their career. Unlike women in senior positions, they cannot afford the nannies, private nurseries and *au pairs* which are necessary in the absence of affordable, accessible, good quality childcare. This prevents many women from climbing up the career

Figure 7: Share of young children accommodated by public childcare provision in selected EC member states



Source: Derived from European Community Commission (1990) **Employment in Europe**

Figure 8: Activity rates of women with and without children in EC member states



Source: Derived from European Community Commission (1990) **Employment in Europe**

ladder. This view was expressed in a paper by UK conference delegates Di Parkin and Valerie Yates.

The relationship between women's employment and the availability of childcare has been well established by research. There is a direct link between women's employment, full-time or part-time, the numbers and ages of children in the household and the availability of childcare provision. The presence of children in the household has a far greater impact on the employment rate of women than that of men (see **Figure 8**). In the 12 member states of the EC, nearly 90 per cent of men with a child aged under four work full-time. The comparable rate for women is only 25 per cent, compared to 57 per cent for women aged 25 to 39 with no children (European Community Commission 1990).

As is to be expected, children's age plays an important part in determining mothers' participation rates: generally speaking, the older the child, the greater the presence of mothers on the labour market, and vice versa. Data on nine OECD countries (year of reference: 1987) show that the greatest difference is found in the Netherlands and the UK, where activity rates of mothers whose youngest child is 6 – 13 years old are a respective 20 to 30 per cent higher than those whose youngest child is 0 – 2 years old. The Netherlands has the lowest participation (30 per cent) of working mothers with a child under three, followed by Germany (38 per cent) and the UK (40 per cent). The highest participation rate of women in this category was found in Denmark (85 per cent) and the other Scandinavian countries (OECD 1990). These participation rates bear a close relation to the presence of childcare provisions.

Once the children are old enough to go to school, the difficulties of combining a job with having a family are by no means over. The mismatch between working hours and school hours is a common problem and it is usually women who have to deal with it. They can choose between :

- seeking part-time work which corresponds to school hours;
- organising after-school care;
- remaining economically inactive.

School hours correspond little, if at all, to working hours and vary considerably between countries and between different school systems. For example, there are just three hours in any day when all the schools of the EC are open: from nine

in the morning to midday. Outside these hours, school systems function quite differently so the precise implications for women's employment are specific to each country (ECC 1990). Research by the EC Commission shows that activity rates of women with a child aged 5 – 9 are considerably higher in countries with a continuous school day like Denmark, Belgium, France and the UK than in countries with a short or broken school day like Italy, Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Spain (ECC 1990).

Reviewing the information on social infrastructure and women's job participation, a positive relationship can be defined between the two. However, this does not explain why in countries with a high percentage of economically active women, there are so few female education managers. Other factors besides childcare and leave provisions play a part. One of them is the way work at home, the 'caring', is shared between the partners.

UNEQUAL DIVISION OF LABOUR WITHIN THE FAMILY

The increase of women's activity rates in the labour market has not been paralleled by a substantial increase in the domestic work done by men. Over the last 10 years, men's daily contribution to domestic activities has increased by only four minutes. They now spend one and a half hours on household duties, as compared to an average of four and a half hours by women. The Austrian State Secretariat for General Concerns of Women wrote the following about the negative consequences of this situation for both women and men:

> It is always women (and never ever men) who have to rack their brains about the way in which they can combine their families with job responsibilities. In view of this unequal division of labour within the family, equality of opportunity remains a fiction, and can be achieved by women only if they are prepared to bear a dual or triple burden.
>
> If a woman gives up her job under these circumstances, thus foregoing the chance to maintain economic independence and social contacts, the husband, often out of sheer necessity, becomes entirely preoccupied with his work. The single earner will seek to make up for the loss of his wife's income by putting in longer hours at work, which means that hardly any time will be left for the family. Quite a considerable number of fathers are marginalised within their own families, as children turn to their mother to share with her their experiences, worries and problems. In the final

> analysis, both sexes would benefit from a division of paid and unpaid work and family responsibilities on the basis of partnership.
> (Austrian State Secretariat for General Concerns of Women, 1990)

Caring for others and being considerate and sensitive are undoubtedly highly valuable social qualities. However, they become social millstones for women when men are not socialised into them as well (Lynch 1990). The fact that men (with only a few exceptions) do not really consider themselves responsible for domestic tasks or for bringing up their children severely limits the professional careers of women. The unequal division of labour within the family might well be one of the main structural causes for the lower job-participation rates of women, and their absence in leading positions.

Several countries try to stimulate men's involvement in the upbringing of their children by enabling both parents to spend time away from work. This does not mean that all parents systematically do so. In Sweden, for instance, each parent is entitled to full-time parental leave until the child is one year old with 90 per cent pay, or half-time at half-pay until the child is two years old. Parents retain seniority and the same or equivalent job and, on returning to work, can reduce their working hours by two hours a day in addition to their 90 days a year family leave for the care of sick children. A recent study showed that only 46 per cent of the fathers, as opposed to 97 per cent of the mothers, made use of the parental leave provision. The Swedish government is planning on increasing the percentage of men in the next two years by means of information campaigns. If this is not successful, legislation will be considered. Research in other Nordic countries shows that less than a quarter of all fathers make use of the parental leave entitlement. It is still mostly the mothers who take the leave, with all the risks for their careers that this entails (OECD 1990).

According to some British conference delegates there is not much hope that men will voluntarily take up their equal share of domestic tasks and thus improve women's career possibilities. On the contrary:

> There are reasons why the place of the domestic world and men's parasitism on women's domestic services are not acknowledged. The progressive male bureaucrat and administrator can happily introduce job share, career break, childcare schemes because they have no impact on the fact that he holds a senior position with relative ease because he is out of his home for 12 hours a day, sees his children only at weekends when his domestic responsibility is some light hoovering and mowing the lawn

once a fortnight. Increased autonomy and success for women threatens men not only by increasing competition from women seeking to enter the public domain, but also by a decline in support and services they expect as individuals from women in their families.
(Parkin and Yates, conference paper)

THE CONSEQUENCES FOR WOMEN'S CAREER PATHS

The consequences of the above factors can be seen from the outset in women's choice of profession, along with ever-continuing difficulties arising from the restrictions of working hours, broken career paths and mobility problems. The inevitable result is psychological strain.

Women often let the prospect of their dual role influence their decisions right from the stage of **choosing a profession**. It is clear from the statistics that a large number of women choose teaching as a career. This is undoubtedly because of the attractive possibilities for combining it with family responsibilities, including part-time work, attractive hours and long holidays. In most European countries more than half the teachers in primary and secondary education are female. However, the fact that most of them combine their teacher's job with the raising of a family makes their career paths in education different from those of men. The overall effect is that their chances for promotion to headteacher are seriously affected.

Several written contributions to the conference described the various effects of the unequal division of labour in the family on the career paths of women. A Norwegian study investigated the reason why a group of women chose teaching as a profession. Interviews were conducted with 102 women students at the Teachers' Training College in Bergen. Although none of them were married at the time, they still gave (with three exceptions) the following reasons for their choice:

1. because they could find a job anywhere in the country so they would be able to move with their husbands;

2. because of the good possibilities of part-time work which would allow them to take care of their families;

3. because of the long holidays which would coincide with those of their own children;

4. because a part of their work could be done at home when the children were in bed.

And of course all of them found teaching interesting, but that was not the first reason that came to their minds.
(Kjellaug Pettersen, conference paper)

The example of this study indicates how much women plan and think about combining personal and professional life. The conflicting demands of their dual burden leads them to choose stereotypical occupations like teaching.

Sex segregation in the labour market is another reason why girls choose teaching as a career. The French sociologist, Mosconi, argued that girls choose those occupations in which they can imagine themselves, and which seem most available to them. This is influenced directly by the perceived presence or absence of women in given occupations and professions (Mosconi 1983, quoted by Plateau 1990).

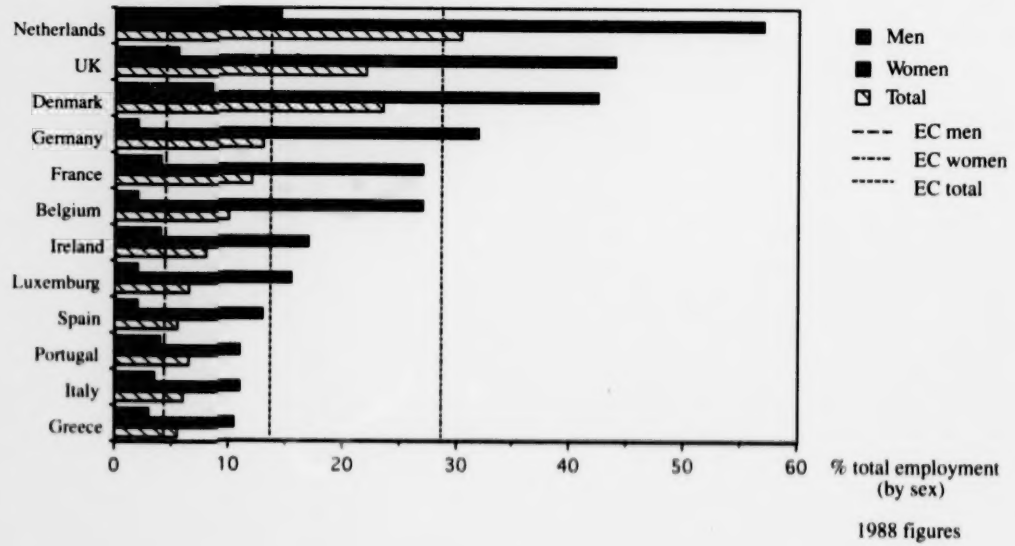
Thus we seem caught in a vicious circle: limited by the pressure of external factors such as the constraints of future family life and the objective probability of getting a job, girls tend to make stereotypical choices which enable them to combine their dual roles. This in turn perpetuates the sex segregation in the labour market, so that future generations will again be missing role models in non-traditional fields of work. Men, on the other hand, will not be faced with the need to take up their equal share of domestic tasks.

One way of combining work and family responsibilities is **reducing working hours**. In the EC as a whole, around 28 per cent of all women in employment in 1988 worked part-time, compared to 13 per cent of men (see **Figure 9**). The teaching profession is considered ideally suited for part-time work; the proportion of women working part-time in this sector will in most countries exceed this average proportion.

The fact that women do not work full-time can be considered as a serious barrier to their career advancement:

In Norway teaching has since the 1950s also appealed to young women

Figure 9: Part-time employment as a share of total employment in EC member states



Source: Derived from European Community Commission (1990) **Employment in Europe**

> because it is possible to work part-time on permanent contracts and without losing seniority or other rights if the teacher works 50 per cent or more of full-time. This requirement partly explains the numerous part-time workers within the teaching force in Norway. Nearly 40 per cent of teachers work part-time; 90 per cent of this group consists of women.
>
> This most certainly does not lead to promotion – and it probably underlines the subordinate position of women teachers. Men headteachers tend to give good support to this group. Perhaps even more than that given to the promotion oriented woman teacher.
> (Pettersen, conference paper)

Many women have to stop working for a lengthy period of time due to child-bearing and rearing. These **broken career paths** are frequently described as barriers to women's progress. Women's broken or interrupted work pattern is seen as abnormal or deficient, whereas it can be argued that these experiences make them even more valuable in the field of education:

> '[Women] often value their family commitments ahead of their careers, but they are not valued reciprocally by systems and schools who see time out for child-rearing as divorced from the workforce rather than contributing to experience. Selection committees in the past have tended to regard child-bearing and rearing as personal aberrations rather than essential functions providing important nurturing skills that are transferable to the classroom.'
> (Shirley Randell, conference speech)

Margaret Mallock's conference paper described how, in parts of Australia, after breaks for child-bearing and rearing, women had to re-enter the service at lower levels, thereby affecting seniority and promotion opportunities. A similar situation exists in the UK where women who take maternity leave have no guarantee that they can return to the same job. They have to accept alternatives offered by the employer (OECD 1990).

There is also the question of **mobility**. Women's family responsibilities frequently cause geographical immobility. They are not free to accept a job anywhere in the country. On the other hand, women usually move with their husbands' promotional opportunities rather than vice versa. This involuntary mobility or inability to move to take up an appointment can be detrimental to women's progress. Randell (1985) mentioned research reporting that 52.3 per cent of the women

studied had experienced disadvantage in their careers because of mobility factors. Only one fourth of the men had similar experiences.

Anthea Millett and Sandra Nicholls, Chief Inspector and Staff Inspector with Her Majesty's Inspectorate in the UK respectively, described in their paper lack of mobility as one of the major explanations for the fact that they have so few female colleagues. At the inspectorate level in particular, as it includes a life with constant travelling and nights away from home, trying to combine both family and career may prove to be too much.

Parkin and Yates pointed out that women suffer from the **psychological strain** caused by the fact that they have to operate in a dichotomised world.

> As well as the lack of paternal involvement in caring and male involvement in domestic tasks, women have to deal with a highly dichotomised world. Thoughts about ordering a child's birthday cake do not sit well in a board meeting. Work and home are over dichotomised with little human interconnection. If the primary focus was on the work tasks that had to be accomplished rather than on being in a place called work for a certain number of hours, a place in which children are not encouraged to be present in thought or in fact, then we could break down this dichotomy.
>
> Woe betide the woman at the management team with baby vomit on her shoulder.
> (Parkin and Yates, conference paper)

CONCLUSIONS

Women would seem to have three options:

- they can either have a family and spend a period out of full-time employment, which means losing out on promotion;
- or, they can choose to have a family, take maternity leave and return to their jobs. That is, if they are able to make arrangements for childcare and are willing to take up the dual task; or finally
- they can decide to have a career instead of a family.

How difficult it is to combine a family with a career is illustrated by the fact that women in leading positions are often childless. In her speech, the British Minister of State at the Home Office, Angela Rumbold, referred to this situation as 'depressing':

> 'Over the last few months three surveys have been published in the UK which depressingly show the same picture. Women managers are finding it extremely difficult to combine home and family life with work. Very few women managers aged 20 – 40 have children, less than 20 per cent compared to 80 per cent of women in that age group nationally. Of those with children, the most successful are those who returned to management after a career break. Nearly all the women interviewed saw motherhood as a barrier to their career.'
> (Rumbold)

These findings correspond with studies undertaken in the USA in the corporate world. In her conference paper, Nancy Hensel reviewed the research and found that in 1984, 52 per cent of the women compared to seven per cent of the men who had attained the corporate position of vice-president or above, were childless. In one of the more recent studies reviewed by Hensel, 90 per cent of executive men compared to 35 per cent of executive women had children by the age of 40 (Schwartz 1989).

These findings from the corporate world are equally true in education. **Figure 10** compares the personal circumstances of female and male school principals in primary and secondary education in the Netherlands.

Figure 10: Personal circumstances of male and female principals in the Netherlands

	Primary education		Secondary education	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Living with a partner	94%	65%	96%	49%
Has children	90%	41%	93%	27%
Partner has paid job	50%	84%	38%	77%

Source: Ruijs 1990

These results clearly underline the either/or situation: for most women, the choice for a management position means choosing not to have a family. While men still have the privilege of planning career and personal life separately, the conflict between child-rearing and having a career is still very acute for women.

Chapter 4

Cultural barriers in school and society

Sex role socialisation and sex stereotyping have a profound influence on the way men and women see each other and the way they interact. These processes have been put forward in an extensive body of research as explanations for women's absence in leadership positions (Adkison 1981). At the Vienna conference it was found that socialisation and sex stereotyping still pose numerous cultural barriers to women trying to advance in education management.

PREJUDICES AND STEREOTYPES

Even today, when a growing number of women are entering the employed labour force, and women's qualifications are equal to those of men, there are still stereotypes and prejudices that keep women in general from climbing up the career ladder. Angela Rumbold described them thus:

> 'There are the stereotypes about women in employment – that they are "emotional", "indecisive", not "combative" enough, (...) that they are only suitable for "women's work" and "women's subjects" and more suited to dealing with younger children. What rubbish that is!'
> (Rumbold, conference speech)

In education, a sector which employs a relatively large proportion of women, these prejudices tend to surface when women opt for a leadership position. Attention was drawn to this in conference papers by Kjellaug Pettersen and Doris

Ranftl-Guggenberger. Research by Ruijs in the N herlands shows that one quarter of the female principals in primary education encountered prejudices in the selection procedure. These prejudices fell into four categories, shown below.

Combining household and family with career is impossible
A question repeatedly asked of women was: 'Do you plan to have a baby in the near future?' The implication was that women who have babies stop working. Sometimes, therefore, women had to guarantee to stay on for at least 10 years. When the female candidate already had children, doubts were raised as to the commitment of someone having to combine a household and family with her work as a school principal.

Women are not strong enough
Women's capacities were considered insufficient merely because of the fact they were women. Male candidates were given preference because they were supposed to be stronger and to have more authority.

Men do not want to work with or for a woman
Remarks of this kind were made by teachers as well as by members of the school board.

Women who apply ought to be ashamed of themselves
In a number of cases there was actual resentment against women for having applied for the position of principal, because ...

- a married woman's place is in the home,
- it is an offence to male colleagues,
- she is taking away the livelihood of a breadwinner!

(Ruijs 1990)

These experiences come from women who finally did get appointed as school principals. It makes one wonder what female applicants who didn't make it encountered.

WOMEN'S ASPIRATIONS

The presumed low aspirations of women is another very persistent stereotype that is considered by many as the most important explanation for the lack of women in senior positions. Shakeshaft, in **Women in educational administration** (1987) called this kind of reasoning 'blaming the victim'. She argued that using

internal barriers as an explanation for women's perceived lack of achievement is inadequate. The root cause of these barriers can be traced to male hegemony. It is not women's psyche that is at fault and thus needs changing, but rather the social structure of society:

> Although it is true that women have been shown to have lower self-confidence than do men in public sphere activities, studies of self-confidence often are confined to just that – public sphere activities. We have not studied self-confidence through the eyes of women but rather have forced women to be measured by male-defined standards of self-confidence. Thus it is not clear whether women have less self-confidence or if they only have less self-confidence in areas in which they are traditionally thought not to excel. It might be argued that any human will have lower self-confidence in areas where he or she is not experienced than would an individual who has experience. Low self-confidence might be viewed, then, as a product of a system that keeps women separated from experiences that would help build confidence in the public sphere.
>
> Looking at self-confidence from this perspective, we see that women have self-confidence in areas where they have experience (private sphere functions), whereas men have self-confidence in areas in which they have been allowed to participate (public sphere functions). The problem with labelling women as low in self-confidence is that it doesn't go far enough and define in which sphere this insecurity lies – once that is done, the problem can be redefined as lack of experience in public sphere activities rather than lack of self-confidence.'
> (Shakeshaft 1987)

Shakeshaft used the same type of reasoning in discussing women's presumed lack of aspirations. Using a male lens and male experience, aspiration is usually described as moving up the hierarchy. Having career aspirations means wanting to become a principal and not wishing to remain a teacher. But research shows that most women enter teaching to teach. They perceive many management positions as entailing too much paperwork and not enough educational content and, therefore, these jobs are not of interest to them. They also prefer to stay in close contact with students. To women, teaching is a career in itself, although this is not recognised as such in the current, male-oriented definitions of career.

From another point of view – if one accepts the male definition of aspiration – a lack of aspiration in women may be seen as a 'reality response':

> The difficulties of juggling the full share of family responsibility with administrative tasks may just not seem worth it to many women. (...) Not wanting to take on two jobs says nothing about aspiration level but rather reflects an accurate assessment of the number of hours in the day and the very real limits of the human body.
> (Shakeshaft 1987)

Recent research in the Netherlands illustrates that although many women are reluctant to apply, they are just as interested in education management as men:

> In the Netherlands, we often hear school boards say that they would love to appoint more women in management positions, if they would only apply! The fact is that in 1987, in secondary education only three out of every 100 letters came from women. Does this automatically mean that women are not interested in education management? We asked them.
>
> In primary schools, the percentage of women who are interested in becoming a school principal is smaller than the percentage of men. But there are more women than men employed in primary education, so the actual number of women with the ambition to become school principal is at least as high as the number of men who have this ambition. In secondary education there was no difference in ambition between male and female teachers. Almost one third were interested in becoming deputy principal; less than five per cent wanted to be principal. Only among deputy principals is there a considerable difference in ambition between men and women. 40 per cent of the men and only 13 per cent of the women would like to be principal in the future.
> (Ruijs 1990)

Generally speaking, lack of ambition on the part of Dutch women is an insufficient explanation for their relative absence in education management.

The issue of women's presumed lack of interest in a career has been investigated in the UK as well. A study by the National Union of Teachers in 1989 revealed a high promotion orientation among women. 81 per cent felt that they were consciously pursuing a career and 76 per cent of the married teachers defined their job as equally important as that of their husbands. About half had sought promotion in the previous five years. However, 69 per cent of women felt that they had been discriminated against, particularly in applications for external posts (Wilson 1990).

Plenary speaker Shirley Randell, Dean of Academic Affairs, Ballarat University College, Australia, presented an extensive review of the research on cultural and other barriers in her country. One of the things she noted was a reluctance among women to apply for appointment or promotion. There is some evidence in the literature that women tend to underestimate their worth and their suitability for senior administrative positions. They are inclined to attribute their success to circumstances or to others' contributions. Women make fewer applications than men, in some cases only half as many unsuccessful applications on average. In some cases this is due to preference for teaching and student contact; in others it is fear of failure. But Randell argued that women's pessimism about possible success is well founded. Research showed that men in the 1960s cohort were 2.5 times more likely than women to be promoted within six years of appointment, and 1.6 times more likely in the 1970s cohort.

Anna Garry and Fiona McMillan of South Bristol College, UK, described another consequence of the persistence of stereotyped images of women and men that could make a management career less attractive to women:

> Women who do manage to get promotion may find themselves stereotyped or adopting a stereotypic role which might not provide a role model for younger women. Senior women can be seen as 'single and neurotic', a mistress, a mother figure, a women's libber, or an iron maiden. These classifications can add more stress to the working environment.
> (Garry and McMillan, conference paper)

ATTITUDES

Closely related to the prejudices and stereotypes described above is the attitude of men – and also some women – towards female leaders. June Fisher, one of the plenary speakers at the conference and a senior official in WCOTP, the World Confederation of Organisations of the Teaching Professions, considered this to be a major barrier to women in management. Deeply entrenched societal attitudes about the roles of men and women as leaders and followers prevent competent women from assuming leadership roles. Fisher illustrated this with the following example:

> 'In 1855 in the Crimean War when Florence Nightingale arrived at the base hospital of Scutari to embark upon professional nursing for the British Army, the British Medical Command placed the rotting corpse of

a Russian general in her room as a token of their expectation of her ability to cope. They were wrong of course. But today such attitudes still exist, stemming from a male view of society which – unfortunately – has history behind it. Victorian values and religious ethos around the world all point to women as having a role welded to lower levels of achievement. Women pioneers in education management have always been regarded as "way out", "odd" people like their sisters in medicine and law and politics.'
(Fisher)

Ninni Hagman of Stockholm University saw as the main obstacle in Sweden today what she called the attitude of 'complaisant resistance' from men in power. She gave some recent examples from her personal work experience to illustrate this:

As Director of the Equal Opportunities Programme at Stockholm University I asked the University Director to sign a letter to the faculty boards reminding them of their duty to make every possible effort to get more women members in the nomination commissions. The qualitative aspect of equality was stressed, which implies that knowledge, experiences and values of both women and men must be used to enrich and affect development and decisions. A short time after signing the letter the Director selected 10 men to serve on a commission with the task of proposing the content and design of a big new branch of the university. Asked why no women had been chosen he answered: 'I never think in terms of men and women'. Faced with the letter to the faculty boards he continued: 'but I am beginning to understand that I am obliged to.' The commission was complemented with four women. To replace men is still too big a step.

My university has just submitted its comments on the official report **10 years of the Equal Opportunities Act**. The Presidency accepted without protest my suggestion of pointing at the male-power structures in working life, including the universities, as a serious hindrance for justice for women. A chapter about sexual harassment in higher education was likewise accepted. At a meeting for the heads of department some days later the Rector declared his doubts that the university sees any difference between men and women: 'here it is competence that counts. Ability is the deciding factor not gender.'

During my two and a half years at Stockholm University I have tried to find men who don't think and act as if the university was sex-neutral. They are a rare breed, those who think that selecting candidates only from among men restricts the sphere and thus the quality of recruitment and who are convinced that women and men make better decisions together in that they elucidate matters in different ways and set different priorities. (Hagman, conference paper)

MALE CULTURE IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

The above quote from Hagman referred to the male power structure in working life that puts women at a serious disadvantage. Several other speakers and written contributions described the masculine culture in educational institutions as a major barrier to women seeking promotion. Randell, in her speech, referred to schools and, in particular, universities as 'male spaces':

'(...) schools in Australia have in the past been places mostly for boys, where boys use the open playground area, occupy teachers' time and see themselves reflected in the curriculum and in textbooks. There have been significant efforts to make schools more welcoming to girls, but in the absence of deliberate and massive efforts to the contrary, universities in particular are in danger of always being sexist institutions. The use of sexist language and the degree of sexual harassment in education workplaces has been alienating to women seeking advancement.' (Randell)

This male culture leads to a preference for male candidates, which discourages women from applying for promotion. Women also lack role models and sponsors, senior women who help younger women to progress in the same way that many senior men actively encourage other men to apply (Randell; Rumbold). Their unequal access to informal organisational socialisation is a serious disadvantage. Without mentors or sponsors they do not have access into the power-group norms, or feedback on their performance (Randell).

Janet Roberts from EFTR Associates in the UK described the cultural barriers within organisations that are largely structured by men, on the basis of male values. She referred to freemasonry as perhaps the most extreme manifestation of the strength of the male group creating its own standards, language, codes and rituals, and even clothing. According to the research of Short (1990) – which

includes quotations from many hundreds of letters, among which were some from teachers and local government officers – it is not unusual for a woman to be told that if she wants to progress, she should be either ex-Royal Navy or a freemason. Roberts commented that as both of these are impossible there is little hope of her achieving real power:

> Referring to education, Short says: Britain's state education system is blighted by freemasonry. A man who had taught in further education for many years admits that the situation may not be as bad as it was in his day, but he suspects it is: 'I taught in five colleges and encountered the movement all over the country'. This man claims freemasonry is getting even stronger as men rush to join. In northwest England, where he still lives, it is almost mandatory to join if one is to enjoy any status in the community.
>
> Freemasonry may not be a definable barrier; however, the need of groups composed entirely of men to conform to identifiable rituals, dress and coded language is in itself a barrier which is impenetrable by women. (Roberts, conference paper)

According to Millett and Nicholls, Her Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI) can be characterised as a very masculine organisation. In the past, the members used to refer to themselves as the brotherhood. This male culture is reflected in working practices:

> A 1987 survey revealed that many in HMI feel that the pervading ethos which shapes the Inspectorate's patterns of working and informs the interaction of both individuals and groups is quintessentially male. Comments focused on the difficulty women experience in being heard in meetings and the often stereotyped roles and responsibilities they are assigned on inspection teams for education, equal opportunities and the role of committee secretary.
>
> (...) the lore and language of the organisation is still deeply embedded in its patriarchal past and to some extent is reinforced through what Dennis Lawton described as 'the very careful procedures for inducting new members into established norms and values' (Lawton 1988). It is through induction procedures, including the mentoring system, that HMIs learn the traditions of the inspectorate and acquire knowledge such as what

constitutes appropriate behaviour for progressing up the HMI career ladder.

A strongly shared ethos and sense of professional identity has made it difficult for individuals to challenge the attitudes and expectations of male colleagues (and those female colleagues who hold similar views) and to question the styles of some established working and management practices. Although the ethos is changing, HMI still lacks a formal mechanism for the discussion of such issues thereby leaving it up to the individual – and that is usually the individual woman – to challenge the way things are done, as well as the issues concerned. That person then risks being labelled as over-emotional, lacking in a sense of humour, or not fitting in. In an organisation such as HMI where the reputation of the individual members constitutes much of the formal and informal currency of the Inspectorate, labelling can be very damaging for the person concerned.

(...) This organisational tendency to suppress sensitive issues such as gender has contributed to the negative images some women have of promotion and of management.

In common with women in other traditionally male-dominated organisations, women inspectors perceive that the more senior a woman becomes in the hierarchy, the higher her visibility, the greater her isolation and the less peer support available. In addition, women (and a growing number of men) who find themselves at odds with the combative style adopted by some management teams, encounter little support for the exploration of more collaborative approaches. Some HMIs are not prepared to accept promotion on the terms on which it is currently offered.
(Millett and Nicholls, conference paper)

A difference in style of working between men and women was also noted by Garry and McMillan in their paper. Reviewing the research led them to conclude that men and women approach their work in different ways. The dominant male work culture tends towards individuality, is task-oriented and competitive. The female culture tends towards collaborative and team working and has a people orientation. The male-dominated culture may create for women working in it additional stress and a sense of alienation. This is worsened by the existence of an in-language which subconsciously excludes women – for example sporting

analogies, male jokes and general male focus in the language. Women may be concerned that this is the environment they will enter and may be thereby deterred from seeking promotion.

EXPECTATIONS, COMMUNICATION AND FEEDBACK PATTERNS

Gender differences and their influences on expectations, communication and feedback patterns was a major topic of Shakeshaft's plenary speech. She referred to research done by Garfinkel (1988), in which he attempted to determine whether or not men and women superintendents conceptualise their administrative teams differently and whether these superintendents and their team members value different traits. She talked about his findings that both men and women value competence and trust but that they give each a different priority:

> 'For women superintendents, competence is the first thing they look for in a team member; trust is lower on the list. Men superintendents, on the other hand, identify trust as their number one criterion for team membership and view competence as less important. To complicate matters, especially for team members, men and women define trust differently. Men, both as superintendents and as team members, are more likely to describe trust as the "ability and comfortableness to say what they wish to say, confident that the persons they are sharing their thoughts or opinions with will not ridicule or repeat these thoughts elsewhere". Women superintendents define trust as "an expectancy held by an individual, that the word, promise, or written statement of another individual or group can be relied on". These differing conceptions of trust call for different indicators of proof. Men see a person as trustworthy if that person does not divulge information or discuss actions or conversations with others. Women do not code those actions as untrustworthy. They expect people to discuss conversations, actions and feelings with others. What women see as untrustworthy is someone failing to perform a promised action at a specified time. Men define such a situation as a time management or competence issue.'
> (Shakeshaft)

These different conceptualisations and value orientations have great impact on interactions between men and women. The theme of how men and women communicate, how they work together, the problems, misunderstandings and

fears that arise is a major focus of the recent work done by Shakeshaft. A greater understanding of these issues, she felt, contributes to the development of a common language and better chances for women.

Shakeshaft concentrated on an important area of communication: supervision and the way it is influenced by gender. She gave a review of research studies showing that the gender of participants affects what is communicated and how it is communicated. The same words spoken by a male supervisor have different meanings to male and female teachers. Men and women communicate differently and listen for different information. It may be that in a cross-gender supervisory conference in which a principal is discussing an instructional issue with a teacher, the woman participant is listening for the feelings and the man for the facts. Communication may also be influenced by a certain discomfort in dealing with a member of the other sex. Male teachers tend to be more hostile in dealing with female administrators than do female teachers.

Nowhere does the impact of gender on supervision become more evident than in the area of feedback. Shakeshaft's research showed that men receive both more feedback and more types of feedback than do women. Women are more likely to get non-evaluative feedback or neutral responses. Men receive both more positive and more negative responses.

> 'In my research (1987), I found that male administrators are less likely to give direct feedback to females and more likely to give it to males. For instance, when a male subordinate makes a mistake or does not live up to the expectations of his boss, his supervisor tends to level with him, "telling it like it is". When a female errs, she often is not even informed. Instead, the mistake is corrected by others without her knowledge. The results are twofold. For the male, learning takes place instantly. He gets criticism and the chance to change his behaviour. He learns to deal with negative opinions of his work and has the option of improving.
>
> Females often never hear anything negative, being given neutral or slightly positive cues even when their performance is less than ideal. This results in a woman's misconception of her abilities or at least the level of her performance. If she is not directly told that her work is not meeting expectations, she has neither the opportunity to improve nor to reassess her abilities.
>
> These differential feedback patterns are not unique to the adult work

setting. The work of Sadker and Sadker (1986) describes similar patterns through schooling to age 12, where boys receive more feedback and a wider range of feedback. These early differences not only help us to understand why we behave as we do when we become adult workers, but they also help us understand women's reactions to criticism in the rare instances when they get it first hand. (Women always get criticism. The issue is whether they get to hear it).

In my interviews with women administrators, I found that women take criticism hard. They tend to think it is an assessment of their very essence. The first time they receive criticism or the first time they fail, women administrators code it as a sign that they are inferior and that they never should have tried to become administrators in the first place. This is hardly surprising. If, as girls, they received very little direct criticism, women have hardly been given adequate opportunities to learn not to take critical comments personally. Their lack of experience also helps explain why supervisors of women tend to shy away from giving them this critical feedback.

In interviews with male superintendents and principals, I asked why they did not confront women with their misgivings and dissatisfaction. A major reason was the men's fear of women's tears. When asked what they expected from men to whom they gave negative feedback, most administrators anticipated anger. Although none of the administrators in my sample liked confronting anyone with negative feedback or liked dealing with angry subordinates, they had the skills to do so. They were much less comfortable with crying, and because of this discomfort, most failed to give women important corrective feedback that would have allowed the women to improve their performance as educators.

This fear of tears led us to examine who cries and how often. What we found was that there is not a lot of crying in public schools, and that although women cry in front of supervisors slightly more than men do, the difference in frequency is very small. However, women are reported to cry equally often in front of females and males, whereas males cried only in front of women.

Thus we learn that it is the fear of tears – rather than overwhelming evidence of actual crying – that paralyses male administrators. We also learn that both men and women cry, so that weeping is not solely a female

response. Finally, we understand that although weeping is not solely a female problem and nobody cries very much, the fear of tears – or the gender expectations about what women do – keeps women from getting honest feedback about their performance and impairs the effectiveness of the supervisory styles of male administrators.

The importance of this discussion about supervisory styles and feedback is that gender perceptions influence behaviour and interfere with effectiveness: because of our beliefs about who men are and who women are, many administrative actions are censored or changed depending upon whom we are interacting with. The issues are difficult for both men and women. Women must be aware of the feedback loop and try to determine if they are getting helpful, evaluative information. Men, on the other hand, often perceive themselves in a "damned if you do, damned if you don't" position. If a man treats a woman as he does a man, he may be accused of being harsh or unfair. If he does not treat a woman in the same manner, he may be accused of not giving her helpful or corrective feedback. We need to examine our expectations about male and female behaviour and confront the issue so that both men and women are as effective as they can be.'
(Shakeshaft)

SEXUALITY

The influence of sexuality on working relations is another factor that may inhibit or interfere in communications. Shakeshaft demonstrated that heterosexuality and our unspoken beliefs about men and women working together can be the cause of sex discrimination in selection procedures:

'In a study of the hiring practices of male superintendents, we asked them if they would hire a traditionally attractive female. We used the terminology "traditionally attractive" so that superintendents could make their own decisions not only about what was attractive but also about what was attractive within the acceptable range of school administrators. Almost all of the superintendents in our study said, "Sure, I'd hire an attractive woman". When we asked for what job, almost all had her slotted for an elementary principalship. When we then asked if these superintendents would hire this imaginary woman as an assistant superintendent, to work very closely with the superintendent, very few said they would. The issue

for them was the combination of an intense working relationship and the attractiveness of the woman. Most admitted that they felt uncomfortable in a close working relationship with an attractive woman.

The first reason for this lack of comfort was the superintendents' concerns that school board members would see something unseemly in the relationship and that this perception would threaten their effectiveness with their boards. The second reason was their worry that it would cause marital friction, and few wanted the additional stress of "trouble on the home front" added to their already stressful lives. But the third reason, and the one that hurts women the most, is that these men thought they might be sexually attracted to her. And if they were, it seemed like a no-win situation. If the superintendent were attracted to his female subordinate and she did not return the feelings, the superintendent ran the risk of being charged with sexual harassment. On the other hand, if she were similarly attracted, the superintendent's first two fears (school board disapproval and marital discord) might become reality. Thus most of the superintendents concluded that it was not worth the risks to hire an attractive woman (and for many that translated into any woman) for a position with which the superintendent worked closely.

As a result of the discomfort men in school administration have with issues of sexuality, women have been advised to dress and act in ways that suppress or hide their own sexuality. Women's dress-for-success formulae are more like dress for asexuality than for any criteria associated with success. Men, on the other hand, are advised to wear "power suits", attire that has high sexual appeal for some women.

From the woman's perspective, the issue of sexuality is also a problem. Women administrators are cautious about personal attention from male superordinates and unclear about the underlying message. Whether there is a spoken or unspoken sexual message, women process the possibility and think about their responses and actions in the light of that possibility. In addition to the possible negative effects of sexual attraction for women, there are possibilities for positive ones as well. Being noticed initially because one is attractive might open professional doors. Just how much attractiveness helps or hurts women in school administration has not been comprehensively explored. We need to study the effects of sexuality in interaction patterns in schools between men and women, women and

women, and men and men in an effort to understand this additional variable in human behaviour.

Our discomfort and lack of knowledge in this area are not surprising. We are a culture not altogether comfortable with sexuality of any kind. Starting in about the second grade, boys and girls segregate themselves along gender lines (Best 1983). Little is done to change this pattern of sex isolation, and observations of classrooms and playgrounds find ample evidence of adult-directed competition between boys and girls – for example, spelling bees or athletics contests. When males and females do come together again during late adolescence, it is for sexual or romantic reasons. Men and women have very little training or practice in working together as people, rather than as representatives of another sex. It is not surprising, then, that sexuality (and particularly heterosexuality) gets in the way of easy working relationships between women and men.

This issue of sexuality comes first to our attention because it helps to explain some of the reasons why men are reluctant to hire women for jobs that will cause them to work closely together. However, further exploration of sexuality highlights the importance of the cultural meanings we give to people because of their sex and the implications these meanings have for administrative behaviour. We need to understand how the issue of sexuality overlays the behaviour of men and women in organisations and explore how it both helps and hurts the players involved.'
(Shakeshaft)

CONCLUSION

It can be seen from the above that many of the cultural barriers women face relate to gender issues, stereotypes, prejudices and perceptions rather than any truly objective assessment of ability and suitability. Many of the perceptions outlined reflect unconsciously felt but nevertheless entrenched attitudes. Unfortunately, as the research referred to shows, socialisation and stereotyping continue to perpetuate the cycle.

Chapter 5

Organisational barriers in education: institutional discrimination

Barriers identified so far have concentrated on the socio-economic infrastructure as it either facilitates or impedes women's job participation, and the sex role socialisation and stereotypes that lead to an unequal division of labour within the family and a sex-segregated job market. Recent explanations of women's absence from leadership positions focus more on the structural characteristics of organisations. We now turn to an examination of these organisational barriers.

Attitudes and beliefs have an influence on schools and colleges, leading to barriers within organisations. A recurrent theme of the conference papers was direct or indirect institutional discrimination. Rules and regulations are made by men, for men; promotion and selection procedures are geared to a stereotypical male image of a leader. Organisations offer more opportunities for career socialisation (gaining relevant experience for promotion) to men than to women.

Organisational restructuring both in the past and more recently has also been put forward as a reason for the declining proportion of women in headship positions. Amalgamations and the introduction of co-education have profoundly affected the number of female principals.

DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES

Although teaching is viewed as a most suitable occupation for women, it has been common practice in some countries to fire women teachers when they

married or were pregnant. In many societies there was (or still is) a strongly felt belief that the role of wife and mother should take precedence over any other role.

There were several conference papers that gave examples of these and similar discriminatory practices in education. Mallock described the history of systematic discrimination against women, both direct and indirect, within the Victoria Teaching Service from 1956 until quite recently (see **Figure 11**).

Figure 11: Examples of systematic discrimination in Australia (State of Victoria)

Until 1956	If a woman teacher married, she had to resign as a permanent teacher and be employed as a temporary teacher at two-thirds of her previous full-time salary.
Until 1970	In secondary and technical schools, women teachers could only be principals of girls' schools, schools for the disabled or one-teacher schools.
Until 1971	Women teachers did not receive equal pay.
Until 1972	In primary schools, women teachers could not be principals, with the exception of schools for the disabled or one-teacher schools.
Until 1975	Married women were unable to join the state superannuation fund.
Until 1984	Permanent part-time work was not available (now available only at assistant class/band 1 level).

Source: Mallock, conference paper

Other countries had similarly discriminatory regulations. In the Netherlands, for instance, until as recently as 1976 it was possible by law to fire women teachers when they married or became pregnant. And until very recently it was not possible to replace a female headteacher on maternity leave.

Millett and Nicholls' paper recounted how in the UK in the first half of this century, women in the civil service were affected by the marriage ban. This

required that female candidates should be unmarried because 'the responsibilities of married life are normally incompatible with the devotion of a woman's whole time and unimpaired energy to the public service'. In the British inspectorate, there also used to be a considerable difference in the salaries paid to men and women. Millett and Nicholls described the marked salary differentiation which had occurred by 1930: 'the basic pay of men was nearly double that of women and the range of salary points available to men was far greater. It was only 30 years ago in 1961 that women finally achieved equal pay with men in the inspectorate'.

Fortunately, discrimination in rules and regulations now belongs mainly to the past. At a less formal level, however, discrimination still takes place. Informal rules and practices give men a better chance at opportunities for promotion.

OPPORTUNITIES LEADING TO PROMOTION

The mix of bureaucratic and professional characteristics of school organisational structures severely limits promotion opportunities for all teachers, but especially for women. While the bureaucratic structure provides a clear career ladder, it has few positions that provide entry into management. The professional characteristics of school organisations serve to make the informal system of allocating rewards, in the sense of opportunities and positions, more powerful than in other organisations (Wheatley 1981). Research has shown both that this informal system provides opportunities for learning management behaviour and attitudes, and that women are less likely than men to receive these opportunities (Adkison 1981). That this situation still persists was illustrated at the conference by Millett and Nicholls, and Randell.

> In a recent survey undertaken within HMI to investigate certain aspects of equality of opportunity in relation to the working conditions and management of the inspectorate, two thirds of respondents felt that men have more opportunity than women to gain a broad range of experience relevant to promotion.
> (Millett and Nicholls, conference paper)

> 'Research in Australia reveals that willingness to apply for promotion was related to opportunities for administrative and organisational experience during the early years of teaching, and that men were more

likely to be given administrative and organisational tasks during this period.'
(Randell, conference speech)

Where women have limited access to this type of informal system, they are then less likely to have informal training opportunities such as committee work, quasi-administrative duties and temporary management assignments (Adkison 1981). This puts female applicants at a disadvantage when competing for management positions against men who have had such opportunities. The selection and hiring procedures in themselves prove another barrier to women's advancement in educational management, as the next section will show.

DISCRIMINATORY PROMOTION AND SELECTION PROCEDURES

The bulk of research on selection procedures shows that people intuitively tend to hire those like themselves (Shakeshaft 1987). So the absence of women in school management is thus perpetuated. Further discriminatory aspects of promotion and selection are the job requirements that have to be fulfilled in order to be a serious candidate. These often put women as a group at a disadvantage.

Selection procedures

Studies on the recruitment of principals in the UK (Morgan, Hall and Hackay 1983), the United States (Baltzell and Dentler 1983), Australia (Chapman 1985) and the Netherlands (Ruijs and Mientjes 1989) all come to the conclusion that very little is formalised in these procedures. More often than not they are relatively unstructured and informal. Committees rarely have explicit, clearly articulated, performance-related criteria. In the absence of these specific criteria committees tend to rely on intuition and leadership images. The most influential, non-rational criterion becomes: 'Does this candidate "fit" in our school?' (Baltzell and Dentler 1983). Unfortunately, members of the committee do not have many models or images of successful women principals. They are then less likely to choose women without the experience of seeing them in top management positions. Senior men are more comfortable with each other than having women as superiors or peers, so they give patronage to youthful images of themselves (Randell, conference speech).

At all levels of education there are documented complaints about discriminatory

procedures in the promotion and selection processes. Randell gave several examples for Australia that are, however, not unique to that country:

> 'Candidates are often shortlisted without agreed selection criteria, and sometimes there is gender bias in the job evaluation. There is seldom a requirement to search for women applicants, nor to interview the best woman candidate if shortlisted. Panels are not always required to say why candidates were not shortlisted, nor why shortlisted candidates were not recommended, nor to justify the selection of the recommended candidate. Other anomalies reported in the literature include filling positions without advertisement of interview, failing to keep records on whether jobs are advertised at all, internally or externally, inadequate job descriptions allowing shifts in emphasis on various criteria in the course of the recruitment process and all-male selection committees.'
> (Randell, conference speech)

A study done in the UK of applications for 36 secondary headships in 1985 found that appointment panels often brought non-job related criteria based on minor inferences into their judgements. The predominant image of the ideal headteacher was of a tough, leader figure, which most women and some quieter men failed to match up to (Wilson 1990). Research on the prevailing image of women shows that they are seen as less well qualified than men, lacking ambition, taking more time off work for personal or family illness and as being handicapped by taking a break in service to raise children. Such unfriendly myths did not, however, stand up to scrutiny. Number of years of experience and absentee rates were similar between the sexes. Women's career aspirations appeared to be as strong as men's and an equal number had taken further qualifications in their own time in the previous three years. Only three per cent of the sample were on maternity leave in 1982–83. However, well over twice as many male teachers had obtained secondment to upgrade their status and qualifications and generally obtained promotion faster (Wilson 1990).

At the level of the British inspectorate, a similar process can be observed. HMI, in common with the higher civil service, is distinctive in that it does not give individuals formal opportunities to compete for promoted posts. If a promoted post becomes vacant, members of the inspectorate are invited to 'show an interest'. However, it has been pointed out that self-nomination for promotion within the civil service appears to be a barrier to equal opportunities; government departments are now advised to avoid using this method wherever possible

(Millett and Nicholls, conference paper). HMI is less distinctive in assessing female inspectors:

> For an inspector to be considered by a promotions board, he or she has to have been assessed as 'fitted for promotion' during the annual round of appraisals by line managers and to have demonstrated through the variety of work roles and tasks undertaken that he or she has acquired the relevant and necessary experience.
>
> Analysis of the work performance grades and the promotability ratings from the 1989–90 appraisal process reveals very little difference between men and women in relation to the top gradings but it appears that women have generally lower promotability ratings overall.
> (Millett and Nicholls, conference paper)

The American researchers Timpano and Knight (1976) documented specific behaviours that discriminated against women in the hiring process. They termed these filters and broke them down into the five categories presented in **Figure 12**. Although their original study dates from 1976, more recent studies have shown that these practices have changed little (Shakeshaft 1987).

Job requirements

In the list shown in **Figure 12**, Timpano and Knight (1976) gave several examples of job requirements that are directly discriminatory in the sense that they treat men and women differently: e.g. permitting men to skip steps on the career ladder but expecting women to complete each one; requiring only women candidates to hold state certification. Other requirements are indirectly discriminatory: using criteria with unproven validity as predictors of success, such as requiring a specific length of experience in a specific position; not allowing applicants to substitute comparable or superior alternative experience for specific requirements.

Another indirectly discriminating job requirement common in Australia is that one has to be prepared to be geographically mobile. Such mobility tends to be the prerogative of men teachers rather than (married) women (Mallock, conference paper).

Age can also be an indirectly discriminatory criterion. The State Board of Education in Victoria (1986) investigated factors affecting women's opportunities

Figure 12: Sex discrimination in hiring

1. **Recruiting filters:**
   - word of mouth recruiting through the old boy network;
   - limiting eligibility to within the district when it is known that few women there are certified as administrators;
   - notifying women's organisations of only certain openings, such as director of home economics;
   - advertising in journals known to have primarily male audiences.

2. **Application filters:**
   - including questions on applications about children, ages of children, and marital status;
   - questions about lowest salary acceptable which can lead to unequal pay for men and women;
   - separating applications received by sex.

3. **Selection criteria filters:**
   - using criteria with unproven validity as predictors of success, such as requiring a specific length of experience in a specific position;
   - not allowing applicants to substitute comparable or superior alternative experience for specified requirements;
   - permitting men to skip steps on the career ladder but expecting women to complete each one;
   - requiring only women candidates to hold state certification.

4. **Interview filters:**
   - having only men as interviewers;
   - asking women irrelevant questions about e.g. child care, how male subordinates might react to them;
   - questioning applicants about personal matters that are excluded from application forms by law and rejecting candidates who remind the interviewer of this;
   - focusing upon the applicant as a woman, rather than as a qualified professional as in, 'Why would such a bright and attractive woman ever want to be a superintendent?'

5. **Selection decision filters:**
   - regarding an aggressive manner in men as desirable but regarding women who display such traits as unfit;
   - establishing special sets of job titles for women at salary levels lower than those established for men.

Source: derived from Timpano and Knight 1976

to gain appointment to principalships. One of the factors identified was the notion of merit. It appeared that this notion was confused with seniority and, by association, with age. The promotion structure has been such that older members of the teaching force were expected to be in senior positions. This has, however, always been more the case for men than for women, as many women experience disruption to their careers due to child-rearing and other family responsibilities, or they do not seek or have opportunities for rapid promotion. Consequently, when applying for a principalship, many women find themselves competing against younger males, with as much, if not more, recognised experience. The study showed that in fact committees did have a tendency to prefer younger males over women and older males generally.

Millett and Nicholls in their paper also pointed at age as an (indirectly) discriminatory job requirement in HMI: the preference was for candidates in the 35 – 45 age band who have held senior positions in the education service:

> This excludes the many women who have had what can be described as a 'two-phase working life'. Such women are unable to acquire the relevant work experience necessary for early promotion because of their absence from the labour market during their child-bearing years. When they return to employment in their mid-thirties they may take a while to catch up on their male counterparts and therefore only reach the required level of seniority when they are 45+. Although the 35 – 45 age band is not rigidly adhered to, it is included in advertisements for Her Majesty's Inspectorate and may deter many women from the upper end of the age range from applying.
> (Millett and Nicholls, conference paper)

ORGANISATIONAL RESTRUCTURING

Amalgamations and the disappearance of single-sex schools

The impact of organisational restructuring on the proportion of women in school management can be illustrated by the example of the Netherlands. There, in one year, 3000 women lost their headship position due to large scale mergers.

> A review of primary education shows that the situation there changed substantially in 1985, due to the amalgamation of pre-primary or nursery

schools and primary schools into the 'basisschool' for 4–12 year olds. Before that time the situation was as follows:

Male and female principals in pre-primary and primary education (1983, the Netherlands)

	Male		Female	
Pre-primary education	1	(0%)	7817	(100%)
Primary education	8255	(96%)	312	(4%)

Nearly all the pre-primary headteachers were women, whereas primary schools had only four per cent female headteachers.

For the position of principal of the new basisschool, both pre-primary and primary school headteachers were eligible. But in fact what happened was that in many cases the school board preferred the male head of the former primary school because he was supposed to be the most experienced, or it was considered unfair to pass him over. In half of the cases in which women pre-primary head teachers did get appointed, it was because the male candidate didn't fancy the job. It seems that only then women came into the picture.

Many women were also rather reluctant to apply for the job because they feared becoming overburdened. In order to increase the number of female school principals a proposal was made to create the possibility of a joint principal position, in which each headteacher held the job for half of the week. During the other half they would act as a teacher. However, the then Minister of Education disapproved of the measure. According to him there could only be one captain on the ship. Only after an extensive lobby did the Minister give in and sanction the proposal. But by then it was February 1985 and most schools had already chosen their new principal. So by October 1985 the result was:

Primary education management team by sex (1985, the Netherlands)

	Male		Female		
Principals	7741	(89%)	1014	(12%)	(rounded)
Deputy principals	2209	(28%)	5441	(72%)	

All in all over 3000 women disappeared from school management. The percentage of female principals has remained stable but the proportion of women in deputy positions has decreased substantially since 1985. In the school year 1989–90 there were 12.8 per cent women principals and 58 per cent women deputy principals in primary education.

In secondary education more and more schools are being forced to merge because the number of students is decreasing. Also, government policy is aimed at forming large schools. The result of these mergers has mostly been that a former female principal became deputy principal and her male colleague became the new principal. This is especially the case in the home economics sector, which used to be run exclusively by women. In the seventies only half the home economics schools were run by a woman and at present the figure is less then 20 per cent.
(Ruijs 1990)

Organisational restructuring and large scale mergers do not necessarily have to lead to a decline of women in leadership positions. In Part III of this report it will be illustrated how structural change can mean an extra chance for women.

Introduction of co-education and the decline of religious orders in education

One organisational factor which has had a definite negative influence on the number of female headteachers is the introduction of co-education and the retreat of female religious orders in education. Examples from various countries illustrate this.

The Dutch educational system has traditionally been divided into non-denominational and denominational (Catholic or Protestant) schools. Catholic education used to be run as separate schools for girls and boys, in both primary and secondary education. The schools for girls were run by the convents and one of the nuns was the headteacher. When Catholic schools became co-educational, the nuns slowly but surely disappeared from leadership positions (also because fewer women entered convents). In most cases their successors were men. The Netherlands used typically to have the 'secondary school for girls'. These schools disappeared rapidly by the late sixties, when they ceased to exist. Their principals were all women. In most cases they did not become principals again, so the number of women in educational management dropped considerably (Ruijs 1990).

Single sex schools have not entirely disappeared in the UK. Currently, 60 per cent of headmistresses in secondary education lead a girls' school. Whether these women will stay in position when and if their schools become co-educational, remains to be seen. With the amalgamation and closure of many single-sex secondary schools in the UK, it is estimated that the proportion of women secondary headteachers fell by 25 per cent between 1963 and 1983 (Wilson 1990).

In France a similar development was documented by Claudine Baudoux *et al* (conference paper). The 1964/5 education reform and the generalisation of mixed education which arose from it had a profound influence on the number of headmistresses. From that moment on they became a minority. In 1965/6, there was a drop in the total number of headships. This drop affected only headmistresses: the number of headmasters increased in spite of this overall decrease. In four years, 1963–67, the proportion of headmistresses dropped by 10 per cent.

In Australia, as in the UK, the relatively high percentage of female school leaders is related to the persistence of single sex schools and the influence of religion. In 1983, female principals in Catholic primary schools outnumbered male (65 per cent female). This was in contrast to the state and independent schools, which had 15 per cent and 29 per cent female primary headteachers respectively. The majority of the female principals in Catholic schools are members of religious orders and tend to be rather older than their male colleagues. With retirement and the withdrawal of these female religious orders, young men are increasingly being appointed to principalships (Chapman 1985).

One country which still has a large number of single sex schools and female religious orders involved in education is Ireland. Just over half the pupils at secondary level and almost 40 per cent at primary level are in single sex schools. The proportion of headmistresses is among the highest in Europe, particularly in secondary education. This is largely due to the influence of female religious orders: 42 per cent of the 48 per cent female secondary headteachers in Ireland belong to a religious order (**Figure 13**). Religious teachers do not compete for posts in the open labour market. Due to their controlling interest in a majority of secondary schools, they are given senior posts without having to compete with outsiders (Lynch 1990).

Co-education is still under debate among feminists. Some argue that the opportunities for girls are better served in single sex schools. Another argument

Figure 13: Proportion of male and female principals in Irish secondary schools, 1988–89

		Principals	
		Number	%
Female	Lay	35	6.2
	Religious	235	42
Male	Lay	151	27
	Religious	139	24.8

Source: adapted from Lynch (1990)

in favour of all-girl schools is that they give women teachers a better chance of promotion. The cases presented in this chapter make it clear that the relatively high percentage of women in education management in some countries might show a substantial decrease when – and if – co-education becomes the norm.

SUMMARY

This chapter has described the many built-in discriminatory practices, both direct and indirect, which exist in educational systems. The net effect of this discrimination and the organisational barriers relating to regulations and selection and promotion procedures is to perpetuate the male-dominated control of educational institutions and education management. The cycle is further perpetuated if the lack of women as role models in senior positions discourages potential applicants.

A further discouraging feature is that one result of organisational restructuring tends to be a reduction in the proportion of women in school management and headship positions. This can be seen most dramatically in mergers of institutions, particularly with the introduction of co-education and the decline of religious orders in education.

The first two parts of this report have concentrated on the barriers that women face in education, education management and the workplace generally. The next part will be able to take a more positive tone in describing the various strategies that can be adopted in order to overcome these barriers and make some real progress for women, with particular reference to education management.

PART III: STRATEGIES FOR IMPROVEMENT

Chapter 6

Training programmes

One of the most commonly used and probably most powerful strategies in enhancing the number of women in educational leadership is the use of special training programmes. It is a tool employed by governments, local authorities, trade unions and others. The success of this strategy cannot be measured immediately, but nevertheless countries like Norway, Sweden, the UK and the Netherlands already report modest to impressive results.

MIXED GROUPS VERSUS WOMEN-ONLY PROGRAMMES

Various types of training programmes can be identified. Although their contents differ, ultimately they are all aimed at increasing the representation of women among education managers. Not everyone is convinced, however, that the way to do this is through a women-only training course. Some say that as there are no special programmes for men, why should women need them? This makes it seem as if men are better, since they can become heads without such a course. Besides, it is an unnatural situation as women need to deal with men in real life. Women-only courses run the risk of polarising the attitudes of men and women. Others say that it is men who need to take additional management training to acquire the special skills that most women possess through their socialisation. Indeed, many modern day management training programmes focus on exactly these qualities: being people-centred, building teams, negotiating rather than arguing, admitting mistakes, and giving credit to others.

Reports from different countries show that in almost all cases the choice has been made for a training programme aimed exclusively at women. Considering the controversy, it is important to pay some attention to the arguments in favour of them. There are good reasons for women-only training groups, as several contributors pointed out in their conference papers, and as summarised below.

Women teachers are excluded from those training and development opportunities which might lead into management posts (Elisabeth Al-Khalifa and Frances Migniuoli).

In mixed groups, the culture is dominated by men, which has the effect that women participate to a lesser degree (Marjolein Pieterson and Loek van Veldhuizen).

'Very often my experience of mixed sex courses is that men dominate the course. You feel undervalued, almost intimidated by men'; a woman deputy head (quoted by Al-Khalifa and Migniuoli).

In women-only groups, women's concerns, women's issues and women's ways of learning can surface and be addressed in ways they do not when groups are mixed (Annabelle Mays).

Women should have the chance to develop their own style of management without copying the male management model. Men bring with them a personal and collective history of management experience and a confidence stemming from the association of management with men, which could undermine women's opportunities for building up a belief in their own conception of the job and in their own competence (Al-Khalifa and Migniuoli; Pieterson and van Veldhuizen).

Women in male dominated organisations are – so to speak – travellers in a foreign country. They have to know the codes, values and mores of their own culture, and all the intricate nuances of their own language in order to define and grasp the meaning of and to get along in the foreign culture (Anette Wolthers).

In the process of training, women reveal shared experiences of dealing with sex-stereotyped assumptions about their capabilities, motivation and career expectations. Such beliefs impinge on all aspects of women's work and opportunities (Al-Khalifa and Migniuoli).

> Men and women can have very different perceptions of the same situation. This can cause considerable problems in a mixed-sex training group (Shakeshaft 1987).

Types of management training programmes for women can be split into three partially overlapping groups:

- general development training (or attitude training);
- recruitment or introductory management courses;
- women-only management courses.

Courses have evolved over the last decade to take fuller account of the context of the education service. The focus on management issues has become more specific over the years. Characteristic of all these women's training courses is the linking of professional and personal development, in contrast to most other forms of professional development. The next three sections consider each of the types of programme in turn.

GENERAL DEVELOPMENT COURSES

General development courses for female teachers are predicated on needs that women are perceived to have: to be encouraged into promotion and management; to be supported through confidence building and career planning; to develop interpersonal skills to cope with interviews, meetings and conflict; to review skills taking account of domestic and other roles as well as employment (Al-Khalifa and Migniuoli).

Nel Toeman, course-trainer from the Netherlands, formulated the following messages that she tries to transmit:

- believe in yourself, concentrate on strengths and less on weak points, which women tend to do;
- applying for a job means selling yourself; you don't have to fulfil all the requirements in order to apply;

- career planning: be future oriented, be active and do not sit and wait for something to happen.

(Toeman, conference paper)

Priority is given to building confidence and a sense of efficacy so that women are empowered to improve their life and career choices. Courses are, therefore, shaped by a concern to counter a sense of powerlessness engendered by women's own experiences of inequality and bias in the education system and the wider social context (Al-Khalifa and Migniuoli).

RECRUITMENT OR INTRODUCTORY MANAGEMENT COURSES

In general, recruitment or introductory management courses are designed to give women an opportunity to find out whether or not management is 'their cup of tea'. There are usually no specific requirements to be met in order to be admitted. The title of introductory course is often carefully chosen to avoid putting off women who think of power and management as too far out of their reach. The course's aim will be to help women acquire an understanding of school organisation and the skills involved in management and problem solving.

In Sweden, recruitment courses were initiated in order to encourage those teachers from groups that were poorly represented among school leaders – e.g. women. Another aim was to break the biased recruitment from inside the school and to create fairer recruitment with regard to sexual equality. The Swedish recruitment programme has led to county school politicians all over the country more frequently choosing women as school leaders. In 1981/2 women constituted about one-fifth of school leaders appointed who had previous professional work experience. One-third of the first-time school leaders at this time were women. By 1985 the percentage of women in the group of experienced school leaders appointed had risen to 30. Among the first-time school leaders 41 per cent were now women. At the end of the 1980s 37 per cent of the experienced school leaders were women and 41 per cent of the first-timers (Christer Nylén and Elisabeth Sörhuus, conference paper).

The greatest success was reported by Norway. Mainly due to recruitment programmes for women, Norway succeeded in tripling the percentage of women

headteachers in primary and secondary schools between 1980 and 1990 (Pettersen, conference paper).

Experiences in the Netherlands suggest that at first the course participants could be roughly divided into three groups: one-third wanted to become headteachers and took the course to prepare themselves; one-third were undecided and came to find out what was involved; and one-third were sure they did not want to become heads but were interested in organisation and management, in some cases to understand how management can manipulate staff. After the course their attitudes changed. The largest shift took place in the group which was at first undecided: this had shrunk to only a few per cent. Nearly all had made up their minds and, surprisingly, as many had decided for rather than against becoming a head or deputy head of a school. By the end of the course half of the women definitely wanted to become heads (Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen 1990).

WOMEN-ONLY MANAGEMENT DEVELOPMENT COURSES

The largest category of programmes is specifically aimed at training women to carry out management tasks in schools and colleges. Ambition in this direction is usually a requirement of admission. Although the main emphasis is on management aspects, elements from the general development courses can also be found here, since the development of professional and personal skills is considered inter-related. Usually, the specific training content is defined in consultation with the participants. Themes that may arise are:

- how to 'live' in the school instead of how to survive;
- how to give room for emotions and be effective at the same time;
- organisational structure and culture;
- starting a personnel policy;
- handling conflicts;
- colleague consultation/sharing;
- gaining an insight into one's own qualities and weak points;

– career planning.

(Pieterson, conference paper)

EXAMPLES OF WOMEN-ONLY MANAGEMENT COURSES

Some examples of training programmes follow, starting with the Dutch women and management courses. In the following quote, the word 'school' refers not only to primary and secondary education, but also to institutions of higher education.

> After seeing that the introductory courses did not succeed in changing the declining number of women in school leadership, the Dutch government decided to take action. *Women and management* courses were started in 1987 for primary, secondary and higher education across the country. The design and development of the course was nationally co-ordinated. Instead of a careful introduction, this time there was to be intensive training (150 hours) from the start and compulsory practical experience (50 hours) at the level of school management. In addition, for each school which allowed a teacher to attend the course, the cost of replacement teachers for 108 teaching hours would be met by central government.
>
> The courses were well publicised, and as a result were very heavily oversubscribed. The trade unions were opposed to introducing any other criteria for selection than those originally announced, i.e.:
>
> 1. at least five years teaching experience;
> 2. an interest in school management.
>
> Their argument was that if selection takes place on the basis of management experience (in school organisation) existing discrimination is simply institutionalised. Those who were always passed over would not be given a fresh chance.
>
> Eventually, participants were chosen by drawing lots. The course was directly aimed at carrying out management tasks in schools. It was not simply concerned with line management, e.g. as a deputy head or deputy department head, but with bearing ultimate responsibility as a head. None of the participants had a post in school management. At least 50 hours

were reserved for practical training in running a school. Operational tasks such as drawing up the timetable, chairing meetings and solving problems were practised. The subject of school organisation was examined, for example by planning the introduction of automation and studying financial management. The participants also developed their own views through their own educational choices and presentations.
(Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen 1990)

Shortly after the end of the courses, the participants were asked whether they had applied for a management post. One-third of the teachers in primary and half of the teachers in secondary education had indeed applied. However, only about 10 per cent had secured a management post some months after completing the course. Research indicated that many participants felt themselves better qualified and had become more involved in organisational activities following the course (Ard Vermeulen, conference paper). Perhaps it is still too early to evaluate the results of the Dutch training programmes. Acquiring a headship position depends on many factors, such as the number and type of vacancies available at any given time. Nevertheless, given that the course had been expressly intended not as an introduction but as training for women who were seriously interested in moving into management, the effect was somewhat disappointing.

In the UK, The Staff College has been organising courses for women since 1986. During that time they have trained over 600 women and many of the courses have been oversubscribed. The participants have been female senior managers as well as female lecturers from further education. Separate courses are now offered for experienced women managers as well as for female lecturers.

The main emphasis of these courses has been on improving self-image and on confidence building. Another key component has been training in interview techniques, from both sides of the table. The interview training includes writing letters of application and being interviewed or being the interviewer. Staff tutor Jean Civil has observed differences between men and women in this respect. 'Men sell themselves much better on application forms than women. Many women think and believe that they have their jobs because they were lucky or in the right place at the right time.' Videos are used to look out for body mannerisms and speech idiosyncrasies in particular. 'Fake it, till you make it', is Civil's motto as she works toward using the body in a way that does not let the world know just how much 'one's guts are churning, heart pounding or hands sweating'. Further components of the course are assertiveness training, handling conflict and

dealing with marginal performers. In an options session, many groups have chosen to address the issue of sexuality in management.

As more women have been trained, a second-level course is now being offered, which incorporates appraisal techniques, management theory and strategic management. Staff College courses include *Essential skills for women managers*, *Self image and empowerment for women*, *Women managers in higher education*, and *Information technology for women managers*.

On a smaller scale, the *Women as managers* programme has been developed by the Centre for Training and Development in Telford, Shropshire (UK) in an attempt to redress the balance in education management. Each year since 1986 it has catered for 12 women drawn from local authorities across the west midlands region of England. It is heavily oversubscribed. Two authorities consistently interview up to 100 applicants in order to make two or three nominations. Ros Harrison's paper described the Centre's approach:

> The programme has three aims:
>
> - to enable a group of women teachers to enhance their professional skills;
> - to increase their confidence in career planning;
> - to make some impact on gender issues in the organisation and delivery of the curriculum.
>
> The approach is based on a partnership arrangement between each participant, the local education authority representative, the headteacher or principal and the programme director. Each named partner agrees to contribute specific elements to the programme, as an attempt to ensure integration, coherence and firm institutional and employer commitment for the individual, the programme and its outcomes.
>
> The specific programme, centred around career development and professional development, is negotiated with the participants at the initial residential weekend. The group programme is offered during seven half days of contact time over a period of six months. Outside this programme the participants are encouraged to undertake a number of self-development activities and they get the opportunity to undertake a 'line' project within their school.

Outcomes

On a professional level, participants cite an increased awareness and development of their skills as managers. There is recognition too of the management aspects of everyday teaching, as well as those involved in bringing up a family. This experience is perhaps often undervalued. Such skills include: planning, resourcing, organising, problem solving, evaluating, delegating, negotiating and co-ordinating.

Individual institutions have benefited from having staff who have developed personal and interpersonal skills which they can contribute to the management team. Advisers have cited individuals' increased influencing skills within and outside of their own institution. In more concrete terms, each institution will have as an outcome the completed management project. This often means that a problem or opportunity existing in the school or college has been tackled from a fresh perspective. The written report offers recommendations for action and also has the potential for raising the professional and management profile of the author.

Both during and after each of the programmes there has been a significant number of promotions. This does of course mean that the number of role models increases, which in itself encourages other women to recognise and value the skills and sensitivities which fit them well for managing roles and functions.
(Harrison, conference paper)

The British Secondary Heads Association also decided, as a result of the demand by its female members, to offer special courses for women, starting in 1990. A special course is run for *Women into deputy headship* and one for *Women into secondary headship*, each catering for about 30 delegates. The courses are very practical. Participants are asked to send in advance an application for headship or deputy headship with curriculum vitae. These applications are discussed individually with course members. Delegates for the *Women into secondary headship* course were also asked to do three other pre-course tasks if time allowed. These were:

1. Work shadowing for a day or half a day a headteacher (male or female) from another school. While work shadowing, members could be considering issues such as:

- how much of a head's day can be planned activity and how much is it reactive;
- what particular skills is a head using in relation to different people;
- how much delegation occurs;
- what is the management style.

2. Interview an experienced governor of any school about how he or she perceives the role of the head. Tape the discussion if possible.

3. Prepare a five minute presentation for an audience of parents on an educational topic such as:
   - the national curriculum,
   - local management of schools,
   - home school links.

(Cruickshank, conference paper)

Maureen Cruickshank, principal of Beauchamp College and course tutor, reported that the highlight of the courses was the 10 minute individual interviews with an education officer which were video recorded. Each delegate had an interview evaluation with one of the course staff immediately afterwards. Other useful elements included group work with a bagful of interview questions which were drawn out and answered in turn. At the end of each course there was time allocated for course members to prepare personal action plans.

In 1990 the Canadian University of Winnipeg (Manitoba) started a 10-day professional development course for women, in order to increase their number in senior management positions in institutions of higher education. The programme is called *AHEAD, Access to Higher Education Administrative Development*. The curriculum is designed to build upon the participants' knowledge of universities, to increase their understanding of leadership, particularly as it might be manifested by women, and to enhance their own personal professional development.

Annabelle Mays, the course director, reported that to achieve these goals the curriculum is organised around three focal areas. The first of these is the culture

and behaviour of academic institutions: in order to be a successful manager one has to understand the different cultures of the institutions, the ways in which they operate, make policy and implement their decisions.

The second component of the curriculum focuses on organisational leadership, on understanding how interpersonal relationships can enhance the ability to achieve both individual and institutional objectives. Key elements are leadership styles and their impact on decision-making, effective communication styles, negotiation skills, and team building strategies.

The third focus of the *AHEAD* programme is on professional development. The participants are provided with the opportunity to examine their own career development and to acquire new information and skills important to assessing the role of management positions in their professional lives. The topics include career mapping, stress management, preparing for interviews, and individual leadership styles. Twenty-five women participated in the first course. Their assessment of the programme was positive, with an overall rating of 5.4 on a scale of 6. In order to find out whether, ultimately, the aim of increasing the number of women in Canadian institutions of higher education is reached, a research programme is associated with the *AHEAD* course, which will gather information from the programme's alumnae over time as they move through their careers (Mays, conference paper).

Over the years, this type of women-only course's contents have not only become increasingly more focused on management skills, there has also been some shift in perspective. As Al-Khalifa and Migniuoli noted, it has shifted away from an emphasis on moulding women to fit into male biased management and career patterns and on 'remedial' training, towards a feminist influenced perspective concerned with women's empowerment, an acknowledgement of women's strengths and a grounding in women's experience.

An example of the latter type of programme, from Norway, was given by Kjellaug Pettersen :

> The Women's University in Norway has established a half-year university course named *Thought and forethought: leadership in a female perspective*. Besides lectures on organisation theory and training for leadership, the course focuses on women in the history of culture to make women's roots visible. Furthermore, it looks at the results of women's research to build a bridge from that field into traditional leadership theories which pretend

to be gender-neutral. Feministic pedagogy is central in the curriculum. The course has turned out to be of great interest for women all over the country, and half of the students are women teachers.
(Pettersen, conference paper)

International co-operation – an example in action

The *Breaking the glass ceiling* career development project is a unique international training programme aimed at female deputy heads. Sweden and the Netherlands are co-operating in this project:

In the Netherlands few of the women with management posts in schools are heads. Most are deputy heads and once they reach this position, while working enthusiastically, they show little interest in being promoted to headteacher. Studies show that most heads were previously deputy heads, and that they regard this as good training for their present position. Heads are not by any means always appointed through internal promotion, so there are opportunities for deputy heads. Nonetheless, yesterday's women deputy heads tend not to become today's heads. This pattern is not peculiar to the Netherlands, and is found in other western countries too.

In Sweden the government decided in the late 1980s that there ought to be many more women headteachers. The aim is to have 20 per cent of these posts held by women by 1993, which represents double the present figure. The Swedish Skolledarutbildningen Institute, which, like the Interstudie Centre for Education Management in Arnhem (the Netherlands), provides training and courses in school management, is helping to achieve this aim. In May 1989 these two institutes, which have been in close contact for many years, together established an international *Breaking the glass ceiling* project entitled 'The next MANager is a WOman'.

The term 'breaking the glass ceiling' comes from the book by Ann Morrison (1987). It describes a study of why women have rarely succeeded in reaching top positions. There is, so to speak, a glass ceiling between women and top jobs: it is invisible but very hard to break.

The project has two aims. In the first place, the institutes will investigate why it is that at present so few women are heads of schools. Their main focus will be on what considerations the women take into account and

what holds them back. In the second place, the aim is to encourage more women to become heads and to enable them to apply 'female' values in their work. This will be done primarily through a course and a partner scheme. The target is to have half of the women participating appointed to a headship by the end of the project.

The project is aimed at experienced women deputy heads who have demonstrated their ambition to become heads. At the start of the project they must expect to stay in their present careers for at least another 10 years. A total of 50 women, from all types of primary and secondary education, are taking part.

The project will run from 1990 to 1996. The course consists of two seminars, one in Sweden and one in the Netherlands (90 hours in total). In addition, there will be 35 hours of preparatory and other work, and each participant will have a contract with a partner from the other country. This specifies how they will help each other in securing a headship. In principle, the contract runs until both partners are appointed, and in any case until 1996. The financial arrangements are different in each country. The Swedish government will meet all the costs of the Swedish participants, while in the Netherlands the costs will be paid by Interstudie and the participants themselves.

American studies show that women generally make better education managers. This explains their motives for going into teaching and then into school management. So women often do not find being head a very attractive prospect: it means spending more time out of school and coping with political pressures, having to deal more often with conflicting interests, having more power and, above all, having to put in much longer hours. At the same time many women are convinced that the nature of the job could be changed for the better.

The course will help the participants to deal with the more 'male' aspects of being a head, to find a place for their ideals, integrity and values in their work, and to manage their time and energy. The methods employed are also designed to develop and promote the more 'female' strengths: creativity, intuition and working with the right half of the brain.

Interviews at the end of the first week of the course showed that the organisers and participants both felt that the initial aims had been fully

achieved. At the end of the course the organisers will write a report dealing, among other things, with what it is within women that stops them from wanting a headship. The course itself will also be evaluated.

Each year until the end of the project the two institutes will monitor how many women have made job applications and how many have been appointed.
(Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen 1990)

Summary of programmes

Generally speaking, the training programmes as exampled above seem to be meeting the needs of many women teachers, since they are usually many times oversubscribed. Often, however, the programmes share a lack of sufficient funding. In the Netherlands, thanks to the efforts of the trade unions, the *Women and management* courses were repeated for a further year so that more women could participate. Again, the number of women interested was double the number of places available. The Ministry then announced that there were now enough well-trained women to fill vacancies for heads and the project was to be wound down; 1990 would be the last year the Ministry would meet the costs of a course. During the Vienna conference, however, the state secretary for education, Jacques Wallage, announced that there would be resources made available for yet another year.

Al-Khalifa and Migniuoli pointed to changes in arrangements for grant funding of in-service training (INSET) and budget constraints that limit the extent to which women's training can be moved from a marginal place in teacher development to being part of a human resource management strategy for improving the effectiveness of the service. Related to this is the issue of accreditation. It is important for women to have their learning accredited both for their own sense of achievement but also for external validation as a means of stating formally their range of skills and level of competence.

TRAINING PROGRAMMES FOR SELECTORS

There is one last type of training programme that deserves to be mentioned. It is not aimed at potential women school leaders but at the *selectors*: the governors, senior managers and members of selection committees.

At least as important as enhancing the number of women interested in and qualified for a headship, are training courses for those involved in selecting managers. Selectors need to be made aware of unconscious attitudes and ideas that could be detrimental to a fair selection process. In the UK and the Netherlands efforts have been made in this direction.

A transformation of attitudes and practice is not something that can come about 'on the wings of a hope and a prayer' as Neil Fletcher, who was leader of the former Inner London Education Authority, described it. The ILEA saw training for those who were committed to change as of equal importance as the different kind of training required by those who were resistant to change. Therefore the authority moved to institute:

- governor training, to assist those governors who were going to be involved in the appointment of staff to understand the equality procedures in the appointment process, and to operate them;

- training for senior managers in the implementation of equal opportunities practice in their institutions, to help them identify the kind of structures, systems and procedures that were needed in order to implement and monitor progress effectively.

(Fletcher, conference paper)

The Dutch government organised a special conference for selectors in 1989. In it was presented research evidence that job interviews and selection procedures follow a pattern which puts women at a disadvantage. This works as follows:

> Selectors have an image in their minds of the ideal candidate and this image is to some extent biased in a 'male' fashion. This is why more men than women conform to it. Male and female candidates are generally assessed in terms of stereotypes based on sex. Typically 'female' qualities are attributed to women and typically 'male' qualities to men. But the candidate's behaviour also plays a role, for example the fact that women are less inclined to take the initiative at an interview. In addition, it seems that a positive or negative assessment of a candidate is quickly made, in the first few minutes. The rest of the interview serves only to confirm it. (Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen 1990)

The conference made recommendations for action to improve on this state of

affairs. They are quoted in more detail in Chapter 7, p606. This chapter has surveyed the different types of management training programmes available for women, with specific examples from around the world relating to education management. The final example, above, leads us on to selection procedures. The next chapter offers more information on recruitment and selection procedures as a means of enlarging the proportion of female managers in education.

Chapter 7

Recruitment and selection procedures

The strategies proposed around the topic of recruitment and selection are centred around two problems:

- how to get more women candidates;
- how to improve selection procedures so that women get a better chance.

For the first problem, the recruitment of more female candidates, some interesting solutions were offered at the conference. The Austrian government is looking for a new concept of qualifications for educational leaders in the light of recent developments in schools. They are increasingly looking at qualifications and skills which women are known to possess. In Denmark a similar trend is developing. In the Netherlands, a special database has been set up for women who are interested in obtaining a leading position in education. School boards can use this when looking for suitable candidates.

These are but a few examples, which will be discussed in more detail in this chapter along with strategies for the improvement of selection procedures. These strategies range from ensuring an equal representation of women on committees and writing manuals for an unbiased selection process, to the introduction of assessment centres in education.

RECRUITING FEMALE CANDIDATES

A variety of instruments specifically aimed at recruiting female candidates for management positions is available.

Advertisements

When aiming to increase the number of female applicants, the first requirement is that all job vacancies should be advertised, and advertised properly – not just in papers and magazines which might not reach a female audience. The wording of the advertisement is crucial too. Encouraging women to apply can be done in several ways. Milton Keynes College in the UK, for instance, uses the following wording in their adverts:

> Recognising that potential staff may wish to obtain a permanent teaching post at the same time as maintaining other paid or unpaid working activities, e.g. consultancy, part-time employment in industry, looking after children and/or elderly relatives and friends, we can arrange to offer all these posts on a permanent two-thirds or a full-time lecturer grade.

In Denmark three of the 14 regional departments have requested and received the right, granted by the employment minister, to write in all adverts: 'With a view to obtaining a more equal distribution of men and women, the department invites men as well as women to apply.' This measure has had virtually no effect, according to plenary speaker and headteacher Marianne Abrahamsen. She added that there have also been efforts by these departments to increase the number of female principals by stating in all adverts that they would prefer to appoint a woman. However, it is formally prohibited by law to discriminate against one sex in job adverts.

Legal measures

On the other hand, the Danish government has adopted a law on equality between men and women at the time of nomination to certain administrative posts within public administration (1990). This law stipulates an equal composition of men and women in the management of public administration, councils, commissions, official delegations etc., and also in the management of independent establishments financed through the state, in education for example. It permits central, regional and local authorities to effect special measures for the development of equality between men and women (Abrahamsen).

Dutch law does make it possible to invite women only to apply. Several local authorities use or have used this strategy to enhance the proportion of women in education management positions, with great success. Their adverts clearly state that they would like to appoint a woman and for the initial interview only female candidates will be invited. Research by Ruijs indicated, however, that it takes considerable tact and preparation to implement such a rigid measure. Of all the policies used in the Netherlands to increase the number of female heads, this was the most effective but also caused the most controversy among teachers (Ruijs 1990). As a result of this, the teachers' union ABOP (General Union for Teaching Staff) sticks to a policy of preference, which states in the advert that if one of the women candidates is found suitable in relation to the requirements of the job, she will be appointed (Ella Vogelaar).

In Austria, the council of ministers decided in 1981 on a *Women's promotion programme*. It has been the aim of this programme to discriminate positively in favour o. women who hold equal qualifications in order to achieve a relative shift towards women. After 10 years, however, there are no clear indications and examples of the implementation of this programme. In order to help its aims and objectives to be translated into action, the secretary in the ministry for women's affairs is now trying to legislate.

Informal networks

Informal channels of communication are also important sources of information. Women do not always have access to the informal networks which are widely available to men. Therefore, women in senior positions should see it as their responsibility to create and use formal and informal channels to inform women of vacancies and to encourage them to apply (Chapman 1985). Experience in the United States (Baltzell and Dentler 1983) reveals that women will create and communicate through networks of their own devising if there is an understanding that institutions or education districts are seriously determined to act affirmatively.

An example of the power of institutional policy was given by Leone Burton from the University of Birmingham, UK. She pleaded for a policy of *active search* in which networks play an important role. This policy requires that a short-list that continues to represent the current imbalance is unacceptable to the institution. This then puts the senior management under pressure actively to search for appropriate personnel at all times, not only when a post is available. It also requires that staff development policies should be looking to generate, for staff with potential for promotion, the kind of experience which will help to create an

appropriate profile. Burton gave an example of a Canadian university which has such a policy of active search. The short-list for a post for a nuclear physicist drawn up by the department was unacceptable to senior management because it contained only male applicants. By exploiting networks, a highly qualified woman who originated from the city in which the university was sited but was living and working elsewhere was identified. She had been unaware of the vacancy, was encouraged to apply, and got the job.

Recruitment banks

The existence in the Netherlands of a pool of hundreds of women well trained in school management prompted a need to make this resource available to school boards with vacancies. The trade unions and course organisers came up with the idea of a recruitment bank. This was to provide a professional service for the recruitment and selection of women managers in secondary and higher vocational education. It was to be financed by government on an experimental basis for three years from 1989. Two recruitment banks are in operation, one for primary education: Select Primair, with over 100 candidates on its files, and one for secondary and higher education: Interstudie Select, where more than 200 women have registered.

The following description, taken from the ministerial brochure **Women and school management in the Netherlands** (1990) illustrates the way Interstudie Select operates:

> Each candidate is given a thorough intake interview on the basis of a substantial amount of written information. An estimate is then made of the management level she can expect to reach. Sometimes a candidate must be disappointed as regards her chances in the short-term, and she will be advised first to gain more relevant experience. But, far more frequently, on the basis of the information the candidate provides, the interviewer finds it hard to understand why she was not appointed to a headship long ago.
>
> A school seeking a new manager can employ the services of the recruitment bank. Its advisors also take the initiative in approaching school boards to advise and assist them in finding personnel. The school specifies its requirements in the course of an interview with the advisor. Select is part of the Interstudie Centre for Educational Management, and advises on the selection of school managers, both men and women.

A profile is made of all candidates who register. This is done on the basis of the registration form and a standard interview. The school head of the future will have to fulfil 15 criteria, six of which are discussed at the interview. The candidate describes the initiatives she has taken at her school (or elsewhere), how she leads groups of teachers, how she gives educational direction, what style of management she uses, and what the results of her efforts have been, etc. In short, candidates are assessed by what they do and how they approach their tasks.

The strengths which emerge from these interviews are as follows. Women have great ability to empathise, are very concerned with the primary processes in a school, take an interest in personnel policy, and in practice often exercise leadership. They tend to put the emphasis on solidarity with their colleagues and thus on a desire for co-operation.

When Interstudie Select is requested by a school to find a candidate for a vacancy, it carries out an organisational and functional analysis: how is the school organised, what is the prevailing culture, what are the prospects for the future, what tasks will the new head have, and what are the requirements and expectations of her?

On the basis of this knowledge of the school's organisation and requirements, the computer is used to select candidates for this particular post. In the second phase Select's advisors screen a number of suitable candidates in more detail. Select operates here like an agency with a thorough knowledge of the wishes and potential both of the school and the candidates. During this phase candidates sometimes may have to be remotivated and convinced that they really can do the job. This is a necessary but time-consuming process. Women need this support and feel confident about their potential and ambitions only when others (in this case experts) confirm that they are suitable candidates.

The candidates selected have done well in competing for a post in school management. The appointment committees quite often express surprise that all the women candidates proposed are indeed suitable.

The number of women who are actively seeking a management post has certainly increased. Women registered with the recruitment bank are not content to leave it at that, but are also taking the initiative themselves.

In the first year of its existence, the recruitment bank was used by 23 schools in selecting candidates for management posts. This is thought to represent about 10 per cent of the vacancies advertised in that year. The selection procedure is generally open, so that candidates from the databank compete with those who respond to an advertisement. In 12 cases out of 23 a woman candidate from the databank was appointed as head or deputy head.
(Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen 1990)

Changing job qualifications and definitions

As a reaction to the rapidly changing situation in education in many countries, the nature of principalship has become a topic of discussion. New skills and capabilities are considered essential for the modern day manager. Parallel to this development, there has been a need to reassess the traditional, rather masculine definition of a school manager, so that more women could recognise themselves in it and thus feel encouraged to apply. According to Doris Ranftl-Gugg·berger from the Ministry of Education, Austria:

> Traditional management behaviour is usually pictured as assertiveness, good judgement, willingness to take on responsibilities, the courage to take unpleasant decisions and so on. It is these ideas about school management which lead women to turn down positions of responsibility because they view these characteristics as negative and are afraid to lose the emotional side of their nature or to become masculine. In this typically masculine model of a manager, to show feelings is seen as a weakness, as it hinders efficient action.
>
> However, increasing significance is being attached to the human side of school management. New regulations in school are demanding new task orientations, which in turn require a change in leadership behaviour (for example, the stipulation that curricula should be written by a team of teachers). Teamwork is becoming more and more important in schools. Headteachers can initiate and encourage this. For this they will themselves need (apart from subject and pedagogical abilities) the skills of building and working within a team. This includes communication skills, interpersonal skills, listening skills, understanding and the willingness to share others' problems, sensitivity to contributions to discussions and

flexibility. It is these abilities women can offer because of their social role and their special context in life.

In simplified terms, both masculine and feminine skills are needed for the position of headteacher, as well as for the role of school inspector. Future senior staff must learn to develop both sides of their personality at the same time. A broad repertoire of behaviour is required to lead a team of teachers successfully. In this context, both women and men must learn certain skills, and women must learn to assess their own abilities positively and consciously employ them in a management function. (Ranftl-Guggenberger, conference paper)

The Austrian Minister of Education, Hilde Hawlicek, shared this view. In her speech she referred to a new overall concept of qualifications for leading positions in school service which is currently being developed. In this context, she has asked that special attention be paid to the specific interests of women and the problems they have to cope with. It has thus been possible to define anew the criteria of qualification for leading positions in education management, including qualities such as communication skills, ability to co-operate and to solve problems creatively.

Marianne Abrahamsen stressed that women must fight to have an influence on the kind of qualifications demanded of leaders. It is necessary to break with the tendency that men have to choose according to their own qualities and ideas, which leads them unconsciously to think that men are best qualified for a post. The qualifications which are specific to women should be highlighted. Furthermore, as well as professional skills and capabilities, personal qualifications should also be written into a job description and evaluated at the time of final selection. Abrahamsen gave the following examples of relevant personal qualifications:

- team spirit,
- awareness,
- consideration for the social environment,
- flexibility,
- ability to assess a situation quickly,
- ability to delegate responsibilities,
- ability to manage people,
- sense of judgement,
- ability to motivate,
- ability to realise one's own ideas.

- creative ability,
- sense of humour.

CHANGING THE SELECTION PROCESS

Selection procedures generally tend to favour male applicants, as has been demonstrated in Chapter 5. At the conference many suggestions and examples of improvement were given.

In the Netherlands and Sweden, recruitment and selection manuals have been published containing guidelines to secure an equal treatment of men and women. The Dutch government organised a selectors' conference which specifically focused on removing the selection barriers for women. In the Netherlands, appointments are generally made by *ad hoc* committees chosen from the staff and the school board, sometimes including a pupil, parent or student. These committees do not always take a systematic approach to their task, and tend to pronounce judgement after a couple of interviews. The Dutch conference made the following recommendations:

- to make each candidate's chances truly equal, selectors should arm themselves against the [discriminating] mechanisms detected. The objectivity of the selection procedure would be improved by drawing up a profile in advance, and by setting out the exact selection criteria with an appropriate weighting for each one. Men would, of course, also benefit from this process.

- More women should be included in the selection committees. However, it was also noted that this will not in itself guarantee that more women will be appointed. That will only be achieved if the women members are convinced of the importance of the matter.

(Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen 1990)

The importance of an equal representation of women on selection committees was also voiced by other delegates to the Vienna conference.

The Dutch Interstudie Select recruitment bank has also raised the subject of the selection methods used in education. The recruitment bank has proposed a more objective method of selection, with a set of criteria relevant to managers in

education and a systematic interview technique that could be taught to those making appointments. The criteria which are the most important for the job are determined with the committee beforehand. On the basis of these criteria the candidates are asked direct questions about how they work. This method provides more of a guarantee that the questions asked will produce relevant information and that the candidates will have an opportunity to show something of their abilities.

Several local education authorities (LEAs) from the UK presented their strategies in combating discrimination at the selection stage. Anthony Smith from the former Inner London Education Authority described how ILEA succeeded in enhancing the number of female school leaders through their carefully designed selection process:

> A key factor in securing equal opportunities in selection procedures was the carefully worked out system for advertising, interviewing and selection, devised by a committed personnel department. All selection criteria were published in the advertised details and shortlisting had to be based on those criteria. It was possible to appeal against not being shortlisted before the interview stage and elected members had the right to add to short lists in key appointments if they felt that an unjustified omission had occurred.
>
> Interviews were tightly constructed around selection criteria and the assessment of candidates was made on a matrix of those criteria against performance on interview and information given in the application form. References were open so that a candidate knew what his/her referee had said, and the selection was made in the light of the full evaluation of all available evidence. All appointments made by officers were subject to appeal and, therefore, the record keeping in interview had to be thorough and open to scrutiny. The appeals system was well used and had a salutary influence on those making the appointments who knew that their selection would have to stand the test of such a scrutiny. In these ways, equal opportunities moved from the realms of pious hope (where many people still find it comforting and comfortable) into the area of accepted practice.
>
> It is no accident that 55 per cent of secondary headteachers in ILEA were women, compared with a national average of less than 10 per cent, and that of the very few women chief education officers in England, the large majority have come through senior posts in the ILEA.
> (Smith, conference paper)

Lancashire LEA has developed, via a working party of senior college representatives and county officers, policies and recommendations concerning recruitment and selection of staff. This has included critical analysis of person specifications for posts and job descriptions and has challenged some of the traditional assumptions of what is needed to carry out duties either in teaching or management roles. One of the remarkable achievements of the working group has been the recognition of domestic experience in determining salary levels of staff. This has now been implemented and has made an enormous impact. Job sharing is now possible across the authority. A considerable percentage of senior managers in all colleges have undergone training in recruitment and selection procedures, including interviewing techniques (Helen Gilchrist, conference paper).

At Milton Keynes College in the UK, the instrument of work shadowing has been introduced into the selection process, and has proved beneficial to both parties. Assistant Director Sally Dicketts and Director Ann Limb reported:

> We have used work shadowing as a means by which potential colleagues, prior to selection and appointment, are invited to spend time with us at the college so that they can observe us in action. In return, we spend an agreed period of time with them, in their current workplace, watching them undertake a range of activities. In this way, candidates have an opportunity to find out more about us and we are able to collate an additional set of impressions about the candidates, obtained in a practical and more realistic setting than the standard interview. These observations, along with all the other assessments made during what is usually – for senior and middle management posts – one or two days of group activities and one to one interviews with a range of college staff, are used to create a portfolio of competencies for each candidate. This portfolio is then presented to the appointment panel in a two hour briefing session which precedes the formal interviews.
> (Dicketts and Limb, conference paper)

Assessment centres

A recent development in the UK and the Netherlands is the use of assessment centres in education. This is a method which focuses on the key skills needed for effective performance in senior management. The assessment centre method originated in the USA some 15 years ago and has been widely used as a model for selection and training in industry, business, the civil service and the armed

forces. The American National Association of Secondary School Principals (NASSP) has been developing an educational assessment process over 15 years. The model is in use by many school boards in the USA, Canada and Australia. It has been shown in the USA that this method is effective in combating prejudice. Many states in which this selection method is the official policy have found that the percentage of extremely capable candidates among those agreeing to be screened is higher among women than men. The explanation given for this is the higher motivation and stricter self-selection among women. Another factor is that on average very capable men do not stay in education as long as very capable women. More importantly, the focus on the behaviour in job-relevant tests keeps at bay the influence of image stereotypes, which have been a barrier to women.

A description of the way in which the assessment centre method works was given in papers by Charlotte Korbee and Kay Driver. The procedure is generally as follows. The candidate comes to the assessment centre for one or two days and performs a series of job related exercises, such as:

- in-trays,
- professional fact finding and presentation,
- leaderless group discussion,
- conflict activity,
- interviews.

The important areas of managerial repertoire are assessed. These are criteria or competencies, a sample list of which can be seen in **Figure 14**. Criteria are developed in an attempt to discern what is important for an education manager in the 1990s, with special attention paid to the fallacy of specification of the stereotypical male leadership dimensions. Every criterion is elicited in more than one activity.

Assessors are trained to register neutrally both verbal and non-verbal behaviour. Every candidate is observed by different assessors to minimise the risk of preconceived judgement. After the candidate has left, the assessors prepare their behavioural notes for evaluation. Together they have to reach an agreement on the answer to some 150 specific questions about the candidate's behaviour. Every criterion is measured by an average of 14 questions. The activities and the judgement of performance are highly standardised. If effective behaviour is shown in every appropriate situation the person gets high scores, whether male or female, and whatever colour, sexual orientation, religion, physical disability

Figure 14: Criteria or competencies essential for effective performance in principalship

These items have been identified by NASSP over the past 15 years.

1. *Educational values*: possession of a well reasoned educational philosophy: receptiveness to new ideas and change.
2. *Problem analysis*: ability to seek out relevant data and analyse complex information to determine the important elements of a problem; searching for information with a purpose.
3. *Judgement*: ability to reach logical conclusions and make high quality decisions based on available information; skill in identifying educational needs and setting priorities; ability to evaluate critically written communications.
4. *Organisational ability*: ability to plan, schedule and control work of others; skill in using resources in an optimal fashion; ability to deal with a volume of paperwork and heavy demands on one's time.
5. *Decisiveness*: ability to recognise when a decision is required (disregarding the quality of the decision) and to act quickly.
6. *Leadership*: ability to get others involved in solving problems; ability to recognise when a group requires direction, to interact with group effectively and to guide them to the accomplishment of a task.
7. *Sensitivity*: ability to perceive needs, concerns, personal problems of others; skill in resolving conflicts; tact in dealing with persons from different backgrounds; ability to deal effectively with people concerning emotional issues; knowing what information to communicate and to whom.
8. *Stress tolerance*: ability to think on one's feet, to perform under pressure and during opposition.
9. *Oral communication*: ability to make a clear oral presentation of facts or ideas.
10. *Written communication*: ability to express ideas clearly in writing; to be able to write appropriately for different audiences – students, teachers, parents *et al*.
11. *Range of interest*: competence to discuss a variety of subjects – educational, political, current events etc.; desire to participate actively in events.
12. *Personal motivation*: need to achieve in all activities attempted; evidence that work is important to personal satisfaction; ability to be self-policing.

NASSP – National Association of Secondary School Principals, USA

or characteristic, etc. After the assessment, the co-ordinators discuss the report with the candidate with regard to:

- what strong points can serve as part of a good profile,
- what points can be strengthened so that average becomes outstanding,
- what kinds of activities or tasks (and, rarely, training) are needed to reach that end, and
- what weak points should be accepted (as part of them that cannot be changed easily, so do not waste energy on it).

If the candidate comes as part of a selection procedure for a specific job, the report is only handed to the contracting board with the explicit permission of the candidate.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has described various strategies that can be and are being adopted in order to improve recruitment and selection procedures so that women's chances are greatly increased. Some schemes have not achieved enough tangible results in terms of promotions; others – particularly where there has been more positive discrimination – have achieved greater success for women. Clearly, strategies and their implementation need to be as positive as possible and wholeheartedly embraced in order to achieve the desired results.

Chapter 8

Career break schemes and improved childcare facilities

In order for women to be able to sustain their careers or return to them after maternity leave, there are various measures that need to be taken so that they can balance their dual roles of home and work. Chapters 8 and 9 focus on these practical requirements relating to childcare and working hours, giving examples of schemes in action.

CAREER BREAK SCHEMES AND WOMEN RETURNERS

The strategies outlined here deal with the problem of women not returning after maternity leave, or returning to lower status jobs. Enabling women to re-enter their careers following childbirth/child-rearing, by means of a transition period of retraining and discussion of career possibilities, is not just in the interest of women but is, or is set to become, an economic necessity. The Eurostat figures of the net entrants to the labour market for the EC illustrate clearly a predicted staff shortage:

- 1981 saw peak EC figures of 968,000 net entrants to the labour market;
- 1989 saw the figures reduced to 335,000 net entrants;
- Estimates for 1993 suggest only 1000 net entrants and, by the turn of the century, we will have a negative number of net entrants.

(John Aspinall, conference paper)

The current recession and rising unemployment throughout Europe is blurring this picture, but the underlying demographic trend towards an ageing population with an insufficient workforce to sustain economic activity remains.

The above figures are in sharp contrast with the fact that so many women are unemployed. In the UK, for instance, six million women are not in paid work, of which one million have qualifications of A level or higher, and around 196,000 women with a degree are unemployed. As far as education is concerned, the UK in the early 90s had such a shortage of teachers that recruiting from other EC countries was necessary for a time. On the other hand, there are over 300,000 qualified women teachers out of teaching. The National Union of Teachers published a plan called **Opening doors** to get these women back into teaching. Although the government applauded the union's strategy, unfortunately the resources have not been forthcoming (Fisher, conference speech).

Government, colleges and LEAs should address this problem urgently. There are two aspects to be considered creatively:

1. how to ensure that women going on maternity leave eventually return to their job.

2. how to encourage women who left the service in the past to resume their careers.

Most education authorities and colleges do recognise that women employees are likely at some stage in their careers to want maternity leave. Not many, however, have a career break scheme that allows women to extend their maternity leave beyond the statutory minimum. It is also necessary to run courses to help women keep in touch with developments in their professional field. This is crucial to the re-entry of women to the workplace (Lesley Cramman, conference paper).

In industry and commerce, retainer schemes are becoming more common. One example is that of the Midland Bank, where those on a break are expected to return to work for 10 days every year to keep abreast of developments and are kept in touch via a newsletter. They are obliged to return after five years (Parkin and Yates, conference paper).

Some LEAs in England have pioneered the keep in touch idea, and now run groups for women on maternity leave. This not only serves to keep them up to date with changes in education, but also gives them the opportunity to meet

together as a peer group and discuss other things, such as their feelings about returning to their jobs.

Gina Ogden, Chair of the Education Committee, Northamptonshire County Council, reported on the *Keeping in touch* pilot scheme for the education and libraries department. It gives women who are not currently employed the chance to:

- meet others in a similar situation;
- meet education professionals (officers, inspectors, those involved in in-service training);
- access current information;
- receive advice and support.

This can have a very positive effect upon self-confidence and the ability to cope with the new demands of being a mother and having a career. LEAs with such a system have found that they have very good recruitment and retention rates. Similar activities, including a computer course for teachers and lecturers on a career break, have been undertaken in Leicestershire (Cruickshank, conference paper).

The question of how to encourage women who have had no contact with the workplace for some years was addressed by Lesley Cramman from Women in Training, in the UK. She has worked with a number of LEAs, helping them recruit the vast number of experienced and talented women who would like to return to the education service, but who have lost their self-confidence during the time spent away from education:

> One of the main ways of helping these women, at least in the first instance, is to run intensive returners' courses for them. Clearly the content of courses would vary according to the areas in which women had previously worked. For instance, teachers would need to be professionally updated on curriculum changes whereas administrators would need to know about the impact of changes in legislation that affect the running of LEAs.
>
> Underpinning all of the courses is the need to help women regain their personal and professional confidence. Working in a group with others

who have similar experiences is very powerful and has a tremendously positive effect on many women. It reduces feelings of isolation and has very affirming effects on the individual. Our experience has been that groups of women who have shared the same returners' programme meet together for some time after the course to share news and support one another; the tie of the shared experience is a potent one that often helps women to sustain confidence and motivation. The group also helps members to avoid downgrading their talents, by affirming the positive attributes of members and encouraging them to seek promotion.

Our experience in running returners' courses has been largely successful. Many women have returned to posts similar to those they left some years earlier. Others chose to work part-time initially with a view to extending their hours as they got used to combining running a home and having a career. Some decided after a short time back in education that they wished to develop their career and decided to attend courses to enhance their promotion prospects. There were, of course, a few who, after giving a great deal of thought to a possible return to the workplace, decided that they did not want to work outside of the home.
(Cramman, conference paper)

Cramman further pointed out that whilst returners' courses play a vital part in facilitating a woman's re-entry into the workplace, the role of line-managers is essential in keeping women confident and motivated for their work. It is also important to consider the role that mentoring can play in this process. By mentor is meant a person (preferably a woman) who has keen professional skills, is experienced, and who is a good listener and can help returners in a variety of ways. For example, mentors help initially by introducing returners not only to colleagues but also to the way the organisation works. This is tremendously important, particularly in the early stages when confidence is often delicate. The use of mentoring as a strategy is further discussed in Chapter 10.

CHILD CARE PROVISION

As has already been pointed out, improved child care provision is needed to make it possible for women with small children to return to work.

The British Minister of State at the Home Office, Angela Rumbold, was convinced that employers who will be most successful at recruiting staff in the

1990s will be those who do most to help staff of both sexes to combine a stable family life with a satisfying career. Her own department has recently opened two nurseries for civil service staff.

Improved child care provisions are considered by some to be a top priority, not just for the sake of women but also for the children. As plenary speaker June Fisher put it:

> 'The first strategy for all women lies in the provision of child care not simply as the enabling factor in women's ability to develop professionally but also for the child in our changing society to have every opportunity to have early years in secure and educative surroundings. Society is changing everywhere. The one-parent family of western Europe and north America is not just a passing phenomenon, it is a fact of the 20th century. By the year 2000 over 50 per cent of the children in the UK will come from such family units.
>
> Therefore, our first strategy must be to care for the children. This must not be left to the benevolence of business companies to provide, but it must be our priority to insist upon proper state involvement and resourcing. It is our responsibility to prepare and nurture the future generation. Professional involvement of women must not depend upon the size of the family bank balance for the care of their children.'
> (Fisher)

The UK Government recognises that it is important to provide a safe, caring and stimulating environment for children during their formative years. In 1989 the ministerial group on women's issues therefore agreed on a five-point plan designed to encourage the growth of a variety of high quality childcare options. This was implemented and a follow-up programme was agreed in 1990.

The plans include:

- action to improve the quality of provision of day nurseries, childminders and playgroups;
- encouragement of the use of school premises for out of hours care of children;
- providing support for the voluntary sector;

- reminding employers of the tax relief they can claim for expenditure on childcare for their employees; and

- continuing to encourage employers to adopt family-friendly working practices.

(Rumbold, conference speech)

Rumbold further called upon the various authorities – in local government and the voluntary sector – to adopt a more flexible approach to childcare than most of them do at present. An exception was the former Inner London Education Authority. Perhaps the ILEA was ahead of its time, because it seems that what is regarded now as good policy was considered insane just a few years ago. Neil Fletcher, former leader of the ILEA, reported:

> The implementation of a policy for gender equality in management positions within the post-school sector involved a series of distinct policy achievements, one of which was ensuring that staff had access to crèche and nursery facilities. With 50 institutions and over 300 different sites at which teaching was taking place this could not be achieved either overnight or cheaply. Government controls on spending, both of revenue and capital finance, were in place by 1981 and became tougher and tighter every year thereafter. Nevertheless, in 1983 ILEA began a rolling programme of crèche/nursery building, with an objective of three additional crèches per year opened and staffed.
>
> Speaking of the costs, it is obvious that the starting up and running costs of a scheme of crèche and nursery provision as of right for all staff is quite breathtaking. In the early 1980s, for ILEA to take such a commitment and its associated costs seriously as a matter of principle was regarded by its opponents as evidence of a form of political insanity and practical instability. Of course these attitudes have all changed now. There is no major organisation operating in London, and that includes banks, financial institutions and blue chip companies, that is not following our lead or at least trying to give the impression of doing so – out of commercial self–interest in the face of a demographic staff drought that is going to affect staff recruitment and retention over the next five to 10 years. These companies, you will appreciate, have never been called insane or unstable. (Fletcher, conference paper)

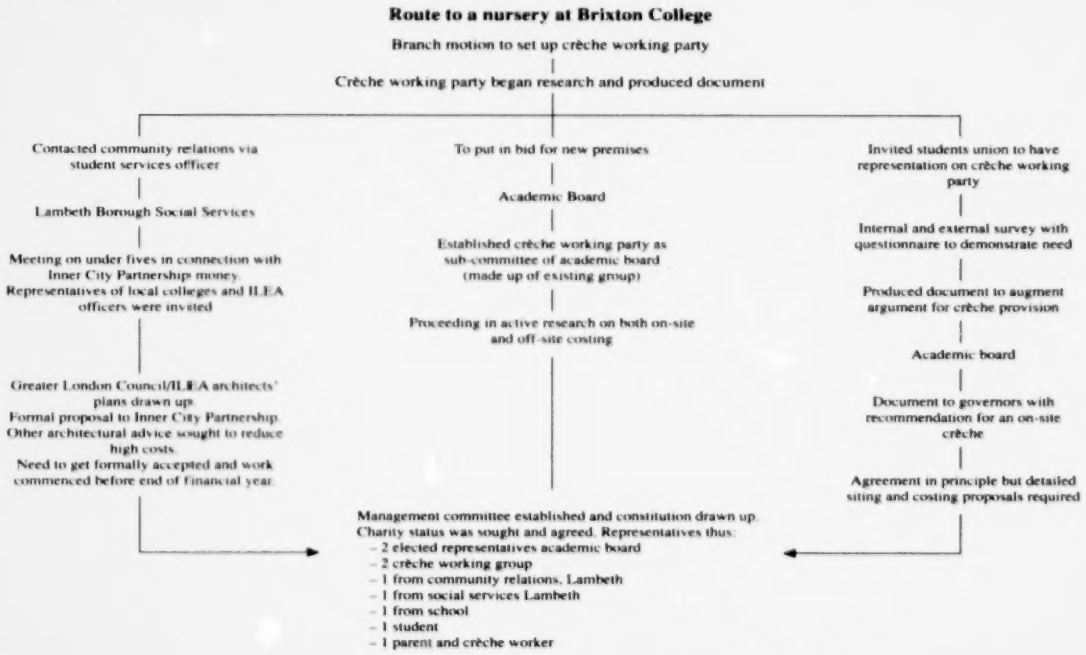
Some LEAs have been considering providing employees with childcare vouchers which can be given to childminders who in turn claim payment for their services from the LEAs. As Cramman pointed out, the use of childcare vouchers is based on the assumption that there are plentiful numbers of childminders around the country. Some areas are indeed well off for childminders, others are not and it would be difficult for employees to find someone to give the vouchers to. The sad reality is that those schemes using vouchers are adding to need rather than increasing the childcare available.

At college level several initiatives have been taken to set up crèches. Linda Milbourne, Principal of Brixton College, related her experiences:

> Brixton College Community Crèche reached its 10th anniversary of opening this year and remains an essential support facility for staff and students in the college. It is one of the hardest to achieve equality projects I have been involved in establishing. (The route that was taken at Brixton College is shown in **Figure 15**.)
>
> The hardest search is undoubtedly for suitable accommodation and finance for a new project. It may be possible to get money for adaptations, equipment, and staffing on a part-time basis through mainstream funding. Special kinds of local authority finance, such as urban aid (only available in certain boroughs) and European social funds, have proved most successful if it is not possible to get funding through a LEA. As Britain compares unfavourably with some other EC countries there may be cases for getting funds this way. It's a long, hard struggle, slow and full of obstacles, but it can be done.
> (Milbourne, conference paper)

Milbourne concluded her report with the observation that fundamental change, change which concerns a shift in the balance of power has never been easy or swift. However, patience and perseverance, often regarded as qualities of women, when used skilfully and coupled with the strength, support and example of other women, will carry us beyond the barriers to equality.

Figure 15: Policy into practice - route to a nursery


Route to a nursery at Brixton College
Branch motion to set up crèche working party
Crèche working party began research and produced document
Contacted community relations via student services officer
Lambeth Borough Social Services
Meeting on under fives in connection with Inner City Partnership money. Representatives of local colleges and ILEA officers were invited
Greater London Council/ILEA architects' plans drawn up.
Formal proposal to Inner City Partnership.
Other architectural advice sought to reduce high costs.
Need to get formally accepted and work commenced before end of financial year.
To put in bid for new premises
Academic Board
Established crèche working party as sub-committee of academic board (made up of existing group)
Proceeding in active research on both on-site and off-site costing
Invited students union to have representation on crèche working party
Internal and external survey with questionnaire to demonstrate need
Produced document to augment argument for crèche provision
Academic board
Document to governors with recommendation for an on-site crèche
Agreement in principle but detailed siting and costing proposals required
Management committee established and constitution drawn up.
Charity status was sought and agreed. Representatives thus:
– 2 elected representatives academic board
– 2 crèche working group
– 1 from community relations, Lambeth
– 1 from social services Lambeth
– 1 from school
– 1 student
– 1 parent and crèche worker

Chapter 9

Flexitime, job-share and part-time management

Higher participation of women in education management requires solutions to problems caused by the combination of family responsibility and work. Flexibility is a key word. Women will be more able to juggle work and home successfully if there is greater flexibility in the hours of work rather than a 9 – 5 day and a five day week. Traditional views of the senior manager who is ever present and the only captain on the ship need to be replaced by new visions of job-share, part-time working and team management.

FLEXIBLE TIMETABLING

Authorities and employers are beginning to acknowledge the importance of adopting wherever possible a more flexible attitude to the organisation of the working day. Flexible working can go a long way towards helping working women (and men) to have a career as well as a home life. It can help overcome the career breaks that in the past have had such a detrimental effect on the careers of women.

In the example of Bournville College in the UK, the management has implemented the following:

> Flexible timetabling to allow staff either to take children to school or collect them on some occasions in the week; time out, in place of paid

overtime, to do Christmas shopping or to attend their children's Christmas play or carol concerts; time out to attend health screening clinics; recognition that women staff may also be the prime carers of elderly or disabled relatives; allowing full-time staff on request to reduce to associate lecturer status (i.e. they work less hours per week) or to switch to a job-share without loss of permanent tenure in post, if their family circumstances change.
(John Aspinall and Patricia Twyman, conference paper)

Parkin and Yates noted that in establishments without the constraints of delivering to the public (i.e. educating people) between set hours, even greater flexibility is possible. They asked 'Why do people have to work the same number of hours every week, when human lives in reality have peaks and troughs of available time? Why can't some of the work period comprise much longer hours – maybe worked in the evening – whilst at other times, like school holidays when the pressures are greater, shorter hours can be worked.' As an alternative, they proposed a system of annual hours where the worker is expected to put in a certain number of hours over the year (or other accounting period) but is not constrained to work the same hours week by week. Hours can be credited against a debit account and pay can be averaged throughout the year.

JOB-SHARE

Job-share is the classic way of reducing hours of work and this is now used by 84 per cent of London boroughs (Parkin and Yates). There is a myth that job-sharing can only succeed for low or middle grade posts. Parkin and Yates cited the following cases of senior position holders: principal personnel officer, district planning officer, minister of the Church of Scotland, housing manager, sales manager of a staff of 30 at a branch of Boots.

In the field of education, examples can also be found. For instance, Linda Maguire, former job-share manager and director of admissions at an American university, offered many practical suggestions to those wishing to submit a job-sharing proposal. She addressed the various stages of the process:

– assuring the necessary conditions for success (pick the right partner);

- gaining commitment from the top (at an early stage write a statement of purpose and a work schedule);

- implementing the plan internally (techniques for communicating with each other, with staff, with other offices and the public);

- selling the concept externally to awaken people's curiosity at other institutions.

Maguire gave the following benefits as examples of positive aspects of job-sharing that can convince superiors:

- partners, by definition, will bring more years of relevant experience to the management position than either could do alone. In addition, their different professional backgrounds will add breadth as well as depth to the job;

- by retaining managers through job-sharing experimentation, the leadership can avert the risks and real costs of hiring replacements for accomplished, loyal and experienced staff;

- the organisation can demonstrate its commitment to working women by supporting a pace-setting alternative, thereby attracting more talented women from other institutions;

- in peak work-load periods, double coverage can be arranged to ease the pressure, increase the efficiency and boost the productivity of the operation. Also, that elusive ability so many busy managers have longed for – to be in two places at one time – can be put into practice;

- absenteeism would be practically non-existent. In the event of vacations, sickness or family emergencies, one partner can cover for the other. Job-sharing positions may serve as models of the lowest absentee rates in the organisation;

- job-sharing reduces the probability of professional 'burn-out'. When each partner returns to the office, her in-box is empty (a major difference from flexitime and part-time alternatives), allowing her to continue the momentum of her partner's work. Also, the dynamic of shifting from the responsibilities of parenting to those of managing an

operation is psychologically refreshing. By feeling in control of both family and work – with enough quality time to achieve momentum in each – the partners can sustain a more rigorous schedule over a longer period of time;

- the partner on duty has the authority to act; job-sharing does not imply committee decision-making. Therefore, on a daily basis, the office can run smoothly and with speed because the manager will perform her duties unencumbered. A partner can use her judgement as to when it would be wise to seek the insights of the other;

- two heads are better than one. When faced with particularly complex, long-term, critical or sensitive issues, the partners can gain a more balanced perspective through consultation with one another – either before certain decisions are made or in response to actions taken throughout the process.

(Maguire, conference presentation)

That job-sharing in management really works was also demonstrated by Parkin and Yates. One of them job-shared a senior position as the senior finance and programming officer at the London Strategic Policy Unit, responsible for a budget of £7 million, overseeing the work programming of all 300 staff and managing a team of seven. This is how it was operated:

> We divided lead responsibility for the functions of the team (finance and programme monitoring), the sections of the unit and line management for the staff. On days when one was absent, the other would take urgent decisions and progress matters which could not wait. This meant we were more available in fact than a full-timer and gave a greater cover to the organisation than the situation pertaining when one full-time staff member had annual leave or was sick. We always briefed each other fully. A head of department, headteacher, professor or senior inspector could similarly divide lead responsibility for aspects of the work: by subject or on a course or year basis.
> (Parkin and Yates, conference paper)

PART-TIME MANAGEMENT

Part-time management, as opposed to job-share, means that instead of working the nominal five days a week (or splitting these up between a partner and yourself), the working hours are reduced by a day or half a day. Usually four days a week is regarded as the minimum for a manager. In practice this means that instead of working 50 to 60 hours a week, the part-time manager must fit his or her workload into 40 hours. In the Netherlands recently, there has been considerable attention paid to the possibilities of part-time school leadership as a strategy to enlarge the number of female school leaders.

Until 1988 the law in the Netherlands stated that the management of a school should be performed by one manager, working full-time. Since 90 per cent of women teachers (the potential female school leaders) in the Netherlands work part-time this law was indirectly discriminating against women.

Among managers in secondary education there is a sizeable group who would, if they were given the opportunity, prefer to work part-time. **Figure 16** shows this preference.

Figure 16: Preferences of school managers for full-time vs part-time employment

School managers, secondary education	full-time	part-time
Men	78%	22%
Women	71%	29%

Source: Ruijs 1990

Research by Ruijs also indicated that most school managers consider their heavy workload as the most important obstacle in the execution of their task. In the Netherlands each year 40 school managers leave their job before retirement (being 'burned out'). The expectation is that part-time managers would not have burning out problems to that extent. Studies show that part-time workers are more productive, less ill and just as dedicated as full-time workers (Blase, conference paper).

Kees Blase from the Dutch national Institute for School Improvement, APS (Algemeen Pedagogisch Studiecentrum), expected to see new styles of management to be the order of the day in the 1990s. Key words and concepts will include, for instance:

- marketing,
- links with the community,
- quality of service,
- personnel care,
- personnel management,
- resource management,
- balancing the burden of school management,
- time management,
- specialisation and differentiation in school management,
- balance between female and male management styles.

In this decade, Blase predicted, school management will grow to a process management, aiming at developing and implementing policy, while many operational tasks are delegated. In this situation part-time managers, united in a management team, are more suitable and could be more successful.

Research shows that part-time managers can function very effectively in almost any branch and at any level. Organisational problems have been solved in each case. But psychological barriers turn out to be much harder to overcome. As Blase noted:

> For the enactment of part-time management at school it is important to realise the possible existing psychological resistance. Without support for part-time management by colleagues in a school, and without the acceptance of part-time working as a phenomenon in modern society, it will fail. In that case part-time management, when there is a disfunctioning of management, will be the scapegoat. Part-time managers try to live up to expectations as if they are working full-time, resulting in stress.
>
> A careful and professional introduction of part-time management or shared management is important. Three elements are important to stimulate a rational discussion, with a minimum of prejudices:
>
> 1. The transformation from part-time management as an individual

problem with organisational and financial problems into a new organisational challenge with advantages for the future.

2. Diagnosis of the school organisation to find the best fitting construct for part-time management (with or without job-share).

3. Diagnosis of the psychological resistance in the school in order to find ways to decrease this resistance. Decision-making should be based on clear and concrete information, in order to weigh advantages against disadvantages.

(Blase, conference paper)

When in 1988 the law prohibiting management in schools by part-time staff was changed, the Ministry of Education asked the ITS, the Dutch Institute for Applied Social Sciences, to investigate the consequences of part-time education management and shared leadership. Based on the outcomes of this research, an instrument for diagnosis was developed by the APS. With this instrument schools can diagnose what form of part-time management is suitable for their specific situation, and what is the best way to introduce this new organisational concept:

The instrument can be used to make an inventory of advantages and disadvantages on three levels.

1. Personnel level (individual wishes of potential school managers).
2. Organisational level (effectiveness of school organisation).
3. Policy level (responding to trends in the 1990s).

1. Aspects re personnel level:
   - motivation, quality of the job,
   - balance between the different qualities of life,
   - financial aspects,
   - burden of the job.

2. Aspects re organisational level:
   - need for different qualities and specialisms of managers,
   - relieving or balancing the heavy burden of school management,
   - complexity of the school,
   - stability of the school,
   - hierarchies in the school,

– reconstruction of responsibilities (e.g. more delegation),
– time management.

3. Aspects re policy level:
   – aiming to allow employees to develop themselves in their job,
   – affirmative action for women,
   – aiming to balance the workload in school (e.g. to reduce sick leave),
   – new management styles,
   – future relation with the community,
   – labour market.

In the instrument a checklist was developed to find the most appropriate solutions in order to organise part-time management:

- reconstruction of responsibilities,
- delegation,
- splitting responsibilities,
- ways to relieve colleague school leaders,
- ways to organise absence,
- taking care of information transfer.

(Blase, conference paper)

The repealing of the legal barriers for part-time management in education and the development of the instrument for diagnosis described above, have not exactly led to an enormous increase in (female) part-time managers. Nevertheless, some examples can be found. It is up to the government to propagate part-time management further and to stimulate employers, when advertising a management vacancy, to include the possibility of part-time work and job-share.

CONCLUSION

The more flexible arrangements as regards working hours and job-sharing described in this chapter represent a more radical approach to the role of the senior education manager. Research and innovative schemes have shown the all-round benefits of adopting such changes in working practices. However, it is clear that major changes in attitude will need to take place before such alterations to traditional working hours arrangements can become commonplace. This is particularly true in respect of accepting the notion of a part-time senior manager.

Chapter 10

Networks and mentoring

NETWORKS

To counteract the effect of the 'old boy network', women have created their own vehicle for contacts and information, sometimes called the 'new girls network'. Networks are open systems of contacts that offer their members both support and professional information as well as visibility. Women can learn about job openings and about how other women handle similar opportunities. Traditionally, women have been excluded from these networks and thus have not heard about administrative posts, have not been known to others, and have had few people to approach for advice (Shakeshaft 1987).

Two types of network can be distinguished in this context.

1. Networks for women aspiring to a management position in education

After taking part in a management training course, many women still feel a need for a support system that reinforces their aspirations and provides a mechanism for ventilation, generation strategies, and professional companionship (Shakeshaft 1987). In the USA as well as in other countries, spontaneous networks developed at the end of training programmes. In the Netherlands, following the various training courses described in Chapter 6, networks were established in all parts of the country, for primary as well as for secondary education. They are now being

co-ordinated at national level, and each year conferences are organised to bring them together, and a newsletter is put out. Many networks have continued the professional training started by the management course. Special modules have been developed for their use. The members also support and train each other in job interviews.

2. Networks for women managers in education

The question is not just how to get more women into education management, but also how to keep them there. Women managers can run into various problems, as Part II of this report has already shown, and (male) colleagues are not always a big help. Women might feel isolated in their senior position and this makes it hard to receive support and positive reinforcement. Otherwise, they may encounter barriers to their further progress, the so-called glass ceiling which acts as an invisible barrier to their development and promotion.

In the UK, women managers in higher education founded the national network *Beyond the glass ceiling* in 1989. One of its founders, Miriam David, described how the network came into existence:

> As part of the process of developing allies for my work I organised a number of meetings of women heads of department in the social sciences both in universities and polytechnics. At these meetings we shared our experiences of trying to develop new ways of working or just being women academic managers. Our experiences were remarkably similar, illustrating the newness and therefore difficulties of being women in managerial positions.
>
> One of the outcomes of the meetings of women heads was the setting up of a number of specialist training courses for women academic leaders and managers through the women's studies centre at Sheffield City Polytechnic (now Sheffield Hallam University). The courses have not only been effective in providing supportive help and new training skills but they have also helped to develop a framework for new ways of working managerially. Moreover, a much wider network of women working in academic forms of management has been created out of this small beginning. There is now a large umbrella group for women in senior management positions in higher education, although at the moment it tends to draw mainly on the polytechnic sector. It has the remarkable

name of *Beyond the glass ceiling*, drawn from American feminist strategies for managerial change.
(David, conference paper)

The group brings together women, mostly at head of department level and above, or holding senior administrative roles (dean, deputy or assistant director). The mailing list has over 150 names and there are new enquiries all the time. Once a term there is a one-day national meeting with speakers, discussion and time left for contacts and networking. A newsletter is forthcoming and there are plans for residential conferences.

As a result of a conference for women managers in higher education (HE) it was decided that there was a need to establish a more formal standing conference/ network for women managers in HE. The following aims for this group were outlined by Christine King:

1. To establish a network of contacts between women working at senior levels in HE, in Higher Education Funding Council (HEFC) colleges and universities.

2. To address issues of management development and management culture particularly – but not exclusively – as these concern women.

3. To provide opportunities to monitor and share good practice and training in equal opportunities in relation to gender, race, social class, age and special needs.

4. To provide positive role models for students and junior staff and to encourage mentoring.

5. To encourage women, via training and networking, to enter the world of educational management.

6. To make and maintain contact with other management development and similar groups.

(King, conference paper)

National networks for women heads and principals in primary and secondary education have been set up in the Netherlands:

The national *Women in primary education management* network, which was set up in 1989, aims to assist in establishing contacts between people and organisations who would otherwise perhaps not come together. The national network has taken the initiative in places where there is no regional network by following up informal contacts and providing grass roots support. At the same time the local school support services have been formally approached to draw their attention to the idea of networks.

Contacts with the regional networks, and above all the women concerned, revealed that the need for national co-ordination was based on specific questions such as:

- how does one go about setting up a network?
- how does one get women together?
- which themes are important?
- which speakers could be invited to meetings?
- what specific actions can be taken if women encounter problems when taking up a headship position?
- how should complaints from individual women be dealt with?

There was also an interest in exchanging experiences with other networks. (Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen 1990)

In secondary education the national *Women in education management* network (VrIOM, Vrouwen in Onderwijs Management) was set up in 1990 as the result of an initiative by women who wanted to join forces and establish a national forum:

The aims of the foundation are:

1. a rapid increase in the percentage of women in management and policy-making posts in educational establishments (quantitative aim);
2. to underline the distinctive contribution of women in education and training management and policy (qualitative aim);

3. to support and encourage women in or working towards higher administrative and management posts in education.

The foundation and a national office were set up by volunteers. At the inaugural conference, 150 people joined as members, and they will each make a substantial financial contribution.

The following activities are planned:

- a national network of and for women in education management and those on their way to becoming managers will be formed;

- national and international contacts will be established to influence legislation and policy development;

- information on how women fare when applying for school management posts will be collected and published; research into all the subjects mentioned here will be promoted;

- a network for secondary school heads will be set up in the near future; women heads and deputy heads will meet, exchange experiences and invite speakers on topics of interest to the profession; a newsletter will provide information about conferences, exchanges, etc. for all the existing women and management networks;

- counselling and a referral service will be provided for women who, when applying for jobs, encounter obstacles which may have to do with their being women;

- contacts will be established with the press and the media;

- contacts will be maintained to raise funds;

- the national office will provide co-ordination, information and referrals.

The foundation's slogan is QUALITY FIRST. As long as people concentrate on quality and do not allow themselves to be influenced by stereotypes, more women managers will be found and appointed. (Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen 1990)

MENTORING

Mentoring or sponsoring is a strategy that is usually employed within an institution, not necessarily in a network, although the existence of a network can stimulate mentoring. The best known kind of mentoring is the senior to junior type. An example of this can be found in the USA. In an effort to deal with the lack of sponsors and mentors for women, formal sponsorship arrangements were set up in which influential educators took aspiring women managers under their wing and helped them in their job search (Shakeshaft 1987).

Leone Burton and Gaby Weiner identified four different approaches to mentoring in their study aimed at identifying management strategies that would enhance the promotion of white women and ethnic minority men and women:

1. One-off mentoring is the single session in which advice, information or support is provided by one individual for another. Pre-briefing sessions might well fall into this category providing her/his responses to the kinds of questions which might well emerge in an interview. At the simplest level, this helps to counter interview nerves but it also encourages the candidate to consider the role for which they are proposing themselves and its demands and requirements. Similarly, de-briefing sessions can be single opportunities to evaluate performance in the interview, identify shortcomings with respect to the job specification and decide on action which might be necessary to support future applications.

2. Senior to junior mentoring is a system whereby an experienced member of staff becomes an institutional friend to a newcomer who is sited in another section of the institution. This provides a support mechanism, an institutionalisation of the 'old boy network' so that its advantages can be experienced by all, and a way into the institutional ethos without the complications of hierarchy in the same department. Induction incorporating a mentoring system of this kind can create a far more supportive and friendly work environment for the new recruit.

3. Colleague to colleague mentoring is a system in which members of staff at the equivalent level of seniority, one established and the other new, are partnered over a fixed period of time. Again, the intention is

to induct the new member of staff into the ethos and style of the institution in an equatable manner.

4. Internal-external mentoring engages members of the institution in adopting prospective incomers in order to demystify the institution. Such procedures have been adopted in the USA, for example, between university students and school pupils where members of ethnic groups are partnered in order to encourage school pupils to consider a university education and to replace myth with information. While such policies can apparently assist access, they do not address maintenance which is more likely to respond to mentoring or networking.

(Burton and Weiner, conference paper)

Networking and mentoring are two inter-related strategies. Networking actively encourages and sets up the conditions for linking members of under-represented groups. These networks can provide institutions with valuable information which can contribute to the ongoing implementation of equal opportunities policies. Regular meetings between senior managers and network members, Burton and Weiner suggested, are one way of alerting an institution to inequalities which can be corrected, to remedial action which is necessary, and to the existence of qualified future employees.

Chapter 11

Equal opportunities programmes

The separate strategies that have been outlined in previous chapters are often embedded in an overall policy of equal opportunities, also called positive or affirmative action. Equal opportunities is a multi-dimensional problem which asks for a multi-dimensional strategy. The measures taken in one area can have an effect on other areas and the outcomes of other strategies.

This chapter outlines a Dutch project on affirmative action, followed by case studies from several colleges in the UK and the Netherlands.

PLANNING AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IN EDUCATION

To stimulate and help schools with the development and implementation of their own policy of equal opportunities, the Dutch government is partly financing a project by the National Institute for School Improvement (APS). The APS started the project of affirmative action in 1989. The Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment covers 39 per cent of the project's budget.

The following definition of affirmative action is used: 'a coherent package of measures an organisation can carry out in order to reach a proportional representation of women in all positions in the school within a reasonable time'. The project chose the following target groups: school boards, school managers and committees on emancipation in schools (NB: 'schools' includes colleges).

Affirmative action is a process that has to be carefully planned, developed and implemented. The project uses a multi-dimensional strategy: development of instruments for school boards and managers; publishing recent information on affirmative action in schools; organising conferences and seminars on ways to work with these instruments; and supporting individual school boards and school managers in carrying out their policy of affirmative action. This support can be given by:

- the organisation of workshops on specific themes concerning affirmative action;
- training on how to avoid sex stereotype mechanisms in job interviews;
- development of a concrete action plan based on policy.

(Kitty Treffers and Lia van Vliet, APS, conference paper)

One of the instruments developed during the project was a checklist on planning affirmative action in schools and colleges. An excerpt is presented below:

Checklist – planning affirmative action in education

This checklist helps school boards in developing and implementing a policy of affirmative action. The checklist aims at starting a process in the organisation. It can be used in two ways:

- as an aid to developing a policy of affirmative action;
- as an instrument for controlling the development and implementation of the policy.

The checklist briefly introduces four phases in the process of development and implementation of affirmative action. The phases are:

1. initiative,
2. orientation,
3. policy development,
4. policy implementation.

Important elements of each phase:

1. Initiative
A proposal is submitted to the school board to pursue a policy of affirmative action. The board must decide how to react: for or against, to ask for further information.

2. Orientation
The school board has decided to pursue a policy of affirmative action. It is important to form a group whose job it is to make a plan for the orientation phase. This plan can contain: a statement on the actual position of women in the school and a description of the desired situation. The conclusions of the group serve as a basis for a new policy.

3. Policy development
Here, a coherent set of measures is developed. It is of major importance to consult all persons (or groups) involved in the school. A broad range of support for the ideas is necessary to implement the policy of affirmative action.

4. Policy implementation
Once the board has accepted the measures, an action plan can be drawn up in order to carry out the policy. Priorities must be stated and decisions must be taken on who is responsible for the implementation and how to monitor it.

(Treffers and van Vliet, conference paper)

In the APS project, knowledge and experience from positive action programmes in various business and other organisations is used and translated to education. In many ways the commercial sector has taken the lead in developing equal opportunities programmes, motivated by economic reasons. Nevertheless, in the area of education inspiring examples of successful equal opportunities policy and implementation can certainly be found. At the Vienna conference several institutes for further and higher education from the UK and one college from the Netherlands shared their experiences. These case studies follow.

BILSTON COMMUNITY COLLEGE

Excerpts from the report of Joanna Tait, Vice-Principal.

The college context

Bilston Community College was established in 1984, from a long established further education college and a more recently established sixth form college. The context was:

a) a clear local authority policy on equal opportunities, and

b) a strong commitment in Bilston and within the education committee of the authority to open access, equal opportunities, tertiary education post-16.

Enrolments to the college rose from 6,000 in 1984 to 17,500 in 1990. This expansion has been supported financially through the acquisition by the college of external funding – i.e. resources not provided by the national/local education funding mechanisms.

College matrix structure

When the college was established in 1984, the principal and senior colleagues immediately set to to put in place a completely new organisational structure, the key aim of which was to free the college from the control of the former heads of department, and to open up the curriculum to new types of student. A course/staffing matrix structure was adopted, and applied rigorously between 1984 and 1988. As a result, few of the senior staff in the former further education college continued into the new college. There was, therefore, considerable scope for new blood.

Within the new matrix structure, courses were grouped in directorates, which sought to reflect the level of study, rather than the subject studied. For example: foundation, access, post-foundation, adult basic education, special needs, and so on. Even at the start, it was not possible to keep this model pure – there was always a tendency for subject-orientation to emerge: for example – first aid and health, social care. Within this original structure, it was interesting to note that the majority of course directors were women – five women : three men. Staff directors were all men – five of them. In this context there was a powerful tension

between those who drove the system with courses, and those who resourced the system with staffing.

An area worthy of considered study and research is whether this is a climate or strategy which is conducive to supporting the development of women in and into management positions. Whether it is or was so at Bilston cannot be said at this stage. What can be said is that the governors, the principal, and many of the senior staff were determined to establish a significant number of women in management posts within the college. They also implemented the above structure and organisational developments. There is now a significant number of women in management positions within the college.

State of the art: women in management positions

The expansion in student numbers, together with external funding, has been important for the employment of women staff in the college, including those in senior positions. The highest graded female member of staff is one of the three vice-principals, appointed in 1987. The post of assistant principal was established in 1988, with three men appointed. In 1989, a vacancy at this level was filled by a woman, who was promoted internally from faculty head. The next level of management post is faculty head, of which there are six. Four of these are men, and one is black. Two of these posts are currently held by women. All these posts are included in the principalship of the college, providing a gender balance of four women : nine men (including the male principal).

The next, key middle management tier is at principal lecturer level, for the course and staff directors, head of the equal rights and opportunities management unit, and staff development officer. Of these 20 posts, seven are held by women; two of these female directors are responsible for new directorates, established in 1988 and 1989. Taking all the above posts into account, the gender balance in the college on the teaching/academic side is one woman : two men.

Monitoring and action planning

A key element of the equal opportunities commitment of the college is to focus on the current position, what targets should be set, regular monitoring, and related action planning. Thus resources are to be directed to action and agreed objectives, rather than awareness raising. The current college development plan sets specific targets for percentages of female staff and staff from racial minority groups.

There is a regular annual monitoring of the gender and racial composition of the student population. This has been linked in to the annual course evaluation and quality review of educational programmes. Particular areas where women or black people are under-represented are identified, and action plans agreed for the following 12 months. The consideration of these findings and the action plans are discussed and agreed publicly within the management structure of the college. The equal rights and opportunities management unit of the college has a brief to undertake the above monitoring work, and to make recommendations for action. The unit also participates in all appointments and carries out investigations when discriminatory practices are identified. This is an important management device that supports the equal opportunities objectives of the college.

Expansion

There is little doubt that the expansion of the college provision, and related budget, has facilitated the establishment of a significant number of women in the management structure. It is well documented that expansion, together with the various changes with which it may be accompanied, provides opportunities to introduce new people into an organisation. At Bilston this expansion also included the establishment of new areas of work.

College philosophy and practice

The commitment of the college governors to an open access, equal opportunities curriculum and staffing policy has been a significant factor in attracting women staff to the college, from all parts of the country. Once women have taken up post, they frequently comment on how much they enjoy, and how different they find, meetings where women are often in the majority – sometimes a large majority. For them this contrasts with the experience of having been the only or almost the only woman in so many aspects of further education life. This is, of course, not the case in all areas of the college. There are still traditional bastions of male predominance – for example construction and engineering.

However, it is the general educational philosophy and its translation into practice that provides the strongest support for women. The philosophy is not tokenistic or narrowly conceived equal opportunities for women, as it is in so many colleges. Equal opportunities is central to the curriculum policy of the college – it is for all students. It is also central to the staffing policy of the college – it is for all staff too. This holistic approach puts each aspect of equal opportunities into an overall commitment. For women, this means that their concerns are

valued, but not spotlighted in the way that can occur when women's issues are considered on their own. This is much less stressful for women, and makes the development of support for women much easier to promote.

In conclusion, one of the positive lessons from the experience in Bilston must be that innovation and development in education, particularly when linked to opening up education to those traditionally excluded, can be fertile ground for improving the career aspirations and experience of women in further education.

SOUTH BRISTOL COLLEGE

A report by Anna Garry, Head of Institutional Research, and Fiona McMillan, Director of Staffing and Staff Development.

South Bristol College is a medium-sized further education college with the full-time equivalent of 2650 students and a total student population of about 10,000. It employs a full-time equivalent of 270 staff including the principal, the directorate, teaching and non-teaching staff (1990 figures). This résumé outlines the development of the college's equal opportunities policy with particular reference to the advancement of women into senior management.

The college is headed by a principal and vice-principal who work with a senior management team of six directors each with responsibility for particular aspects of college management: curriculum, student services, staffing, marketing, special projects and physical resources. There is also a middle management team, made up of each of the 12 heads of division, which links with the senior management team on curricular areas.

The historical context

In 1987 the college was reorganised and the old departmental structure was replaced by a cross-college functional matrix. Before 1987 the management team had comprised the principal, the vice-principal, and four departmental heads. The new college structure created posts for the six functional areas described above. One of the posts created was that of the director of staffing and staff development. The key function of this position was to establish and develop policies which would ensure that staff were recruited, deployed and developed in the most effective manner. It became increasingly clear that equality of

opportunity was a key factor, the representation of women at a high level of management being one of the issues.

The task of establishing and ensuring the implementation of a college equal opportunities policy was allocated to the director of staffing and staff development. This in itself was an important step towards ensuring a high profile for equal opportunities in the college. This role was now the responsibility of one of the key third-tier executive posts.

The director of staffing and staff development undertook to establish a cross-college equal opportunities committee whose first task was to write a policy and plan for implementation and ratification by the academic board and the college governors. This policy set down a broad statement of commitment to equality of opportunity for staff and students and also devised an action plan for implementation. A major result was to provide the college with a statement against which to check progress and monitor achievements.

The new management structure had already affected the number of women in management. The matrix organisation had extended the number of people involved in managing the college by producing senior and middle management groups.

Whilst women were reasonably well represented in middle management, amongst the heads of division, at senior management level the representation was considered to be very poor with only one woman in a third-tier post and both of the second- and first-tier posts being filled by men. Hence only one woman was involved at the level of executive decision-making. As a result the college set a target to increase the number of women in senior management positions to 40 per cent. This meant that three of the team of eight would need to be women. The target was set on the basis of the number of women in the working population. It was considered to be a figure by which to measure the college's progress and a public statement of its intentions.

A year later the position within the senior management team had improved a little. While the target had not yet been reached, there were now two women on the senior management team out of an increased total of eleven senior staff. The Education Reform Act 1988 gave the flexibility to make this possible. Fiona McMillan was promoted to vice-principal. Two new positions of associate director were made, midway between senior and middle management, and one of these posts was filled by a woman.

HOGESCHOOL VAN AMSTERDAM

From the report by Lideke In 't Veld.

Higher vocational education in the Netherlands

The system of higher vocational training in the Netherlands has changed greatly in the last five years. There was previously a multitude of separate, monotechnic schools. The new education policy of the government led to a system of just 40 large institutions – polytechnical institutes with a variety of programmes and curricula. For the formation of the Hogeschool van Amsterdam, for instance, 12 different schools merged.

The changes were brought about for political and financial reasons. The government found that there was too much fragmentation, little co-operation, little use of modern management tools, little tendency to increase the quality of education and too little implementation of developments in the professional world. The financial system also had to be changed. Previously, each school was financed according to its budget proposal up to 100 per cent. The new system was based on output-financing.

The changes at the Hogeschool

In 't Veld described the process of change as both organisational and cultural. First of all the organisation had to be changed. At her institute, there are now three levels of management: the central board of directors, the faculty board of directors and the school director. But the culture also had to be changed. This affected the jobs of teachers and managers. New dimensions were added to their work. In 't Veld felt that this climate of change offers chances for women to advance. Her conviction was that whether or not they actually do, is more a matter of culture than anything else:

> The fact that in our institute there is 50 per cent participation of women in leading functions we owe to our own long history and tradition and the maintaining of that tradition in a new form by an active group of women.

Since the second emancipation movement (1968) there had been a strong feminist tradition in a couple of the schools now forming part of the Hogeschool. There were special curricula for women (post-graduate) on feminist theories and

methods, feminist literature was used intensively, and many of the female teachers were very active in the feminist movement.

In the curricula of the schools (especially in the social sector) special programmes on gender theories were developed and there were also attempts to integrate gender theories in all parts of the curricula. Male and female teachers could take part in a special training programme to become more aware of their own socialisation but also to learn methods of teaching in this field. Naturally there was resistance – and not only by men – but the Hogeschool managed to move on step by step.

Many of the schools already had female directors, mostly in the schools for typically female professions, but in the new institute they got the chance to be a new type of manager.

During the organisational change

During the merger period, an informal network of women was very active. They came together to work out procedures for equal participation of women in all kinds of new functions and also for the participation of women in nominating committees.

To develop and enrich the culture of promoting women's opportunities, it was felt to be of great importance to secure a feminist woman on the new central board of directors. The network of women played an important – though informal – role to achieve that aim. They asked qualified women from all over the country to apply and as a result a woman who had not even heard about the vacancy got the job of president of the board of directors, through informal contacts between women.

At the same time, it had become an official rule of the institution to give priority to women and people from ethnic minorities in selection procedures for jobs. For vacancies, a rather radical method was often used: first, only the female candidates were invited and selected from, without seeing the male candidates. If there was a qualified woman available then she had the first chance. The male candidates would only be invited to see if any of them were substantially better than the female candidate. If not, then the female was chosen.

Since the merger

An emancipation infrastructure has been developed with officers in all departments of the institute. They have built a network – in this case a formal one – and are working strongly together. One woman has overall responsibility for the emancipation policy in the institute (a 0.6 job). The network strives for equal opportunities for personnel as well as for students and the curriculum.

A last fact worth noting: the Hogeschool van Amsterdam is one of three polytechnics in the Netherlands with a government grant to develop projects on management and career planning for women.

MILTON KEYNES COLLEGE

Sally Dicketts, Assistant Director Curriculum and Learning Strategies, and Ann Limb, Director of Milton Keynes College, reported.

As a result of a number of factors, including demographic growth, an internal college re-organisation and a comparatively buoyant local economy in need of a supply of trained and qualified personnel, Milton Keynes College has been engaged upon a period of planned and resourced expansion.

There are several features assisting in the recruitment of staff to Milton Keynes College. Many people want to work in this fast growing city in the UK, where employment prospects have been good. A generous relocation package is available to all new employees. Milton Keynes College has two workplace day nurseries available to college staff and students.

Notwithstanding this favourable situation, a number of actions taken over the last few years have succeeded in attracting, recruiting and promoting significant numbers of women to middle and senior management positions in the college. In September 1986, there were 240 full- and part-time teaching and support staff working in the college. A gender audit revealed the following breakdown (see **Figure 17**). In September 1990, there were 300 full- and part-time teaching and support staff in the college (see **Figure 18**).

The change has been achieved through strategies linking the achievement of quality to the promotion of equality, or a 'total equality management' approach. Six strategies have been implemented and evaluated in relation to the change.

Figure 17: Staff at Milton Keynes College, 1986

	Male	Female	
Senior managers	6	1	full-time
Middle managers	13	0	full-time
Lecturing and support staff	70	50	full-time
Lecturing and support staff	30	70	part-time
	119	121	
Total	240		

Figure 18: Staff at Milton Keynes College, 1990

	Male	Female	
Senior managers	2	2	full-time
Middle managers	12	18	full-time
Lecturing and support staff	48	56	full-time
Lecturing and support staff	72	90	part-time
	134	166	
Total	300		

1. Structural change allied to strategic change

The college reorganisation provided an opportunity for review. Structural paradigms could be altered. Given the statistical picture presented above, the need to take positive action in relation to the recruitment and employment of women to senior and middle management positions was clear. Prevailing circumstances were such, however, that the case for articulating this needed to be proved. The strategy used was one which linked structural change (reorganisation) with cultural and strategic change (influencing attitudes and behaviour). Drawing upon strategic management theory and practice, it was possible to demonstrate an effective and qualitative organisation to be one in which strategic change permeates four interlinked organisational components:

- structure,
- systems,
- staff (skills and attitudes),
- style.

In this way, the college structure changed from an eight-layered, traditional, hierarchical organisation to a three-layered, thematically integrated one. The number of senior posts was reduced from seven to four and 17 new middle management posts were created.

The changes in these posts created the opportunity for job evaluation and job creation; job descriptions and person specifications were devised. As the statistics above reveal, this resulted in significant gender movement in the middle management team. By devising a new structure for the college, the door was opened to women who had not previously had a chance to be promoted to a middle management post. However, altering the structure without changing an organisation's systems or reviewing the skills required of the staff does not lead to effective strategic change. Through the restructuring at Milton Keynes College, the systems were modified as described below.

The reorganisation involved only staff who were already employed at the college, although subsequent vacancies, which have further increased the number of women middle managers, were drawn from an external field. All internal staff, therefore, were encouraged to apply for the newly created posts and all who applied were interviewed. All successful and unsuccessful candidates were debriefed. This was a conscious attempt to encourage both men and women to participate and gave an opportunity for a superficial analysis of overall staff development need.

2. *Cultural change – creating and living out a college mission*

The process of structural change, described above, inevitably involved a major programme of cultural change. This was one of the most significant contributory features to the change in the numbers of women in senior and middle management posts. It was also an important factor in the nurturing and sustaining of the people in post.

Once the mechanics of the restructuring had been completed and the newly appointed teams of senior and middle managers were in post, a programme of professional management development was begun with an external consultant.

As part of the essential team building work which this involved, the first task was to create a mission for the college which all the senior and middle managers felt comfortable with and which they thought was in line with their staff's views and abilities. It was agreed that the college's primary purpose, as an organisation concerned with the provision of education and training, was learning, and that all who have contact with the college, not just the recognised students, are learners. At Milton Keynes College therefore:

- we create opportunities for people to achieve their personal, educational and employment goals;
- we aim to provide a quality service, in an environment which enables all those involved to learn to their full potential;
- our way of working demonstrates a commitment to personal growth. We seek to encourage all those who have contact with the college to value this approach.

3. The importance of role models

Leadership, from both women and men, was vital to the successful implementation of the two strategies outlined above. Prior to, and during part of the period of the restructuring, the principals of the college were both men. Ann Limb, the deputy to both the previous principals, is now the director of the college. Sally Dicketts is one of her deputies. Having two senior women managers in an organisation where 18 out of 30 of the middle managers are also women is significant. The authors try to provide both inspiration and support to other women in the college. They aim to be positive role models for other women, and for men. They both have personal experience of the value and importance of this. They also work with two senior men, both either recruited to or promoted in the organisation by the present director. They are both learning to work with women and men in the college in a way which is commensurate with the mission and values of the college. Their peer group support is vital. They also a play a very significant role in the organisation as role models for other men. Consequently, their value system and behaviour is of particular significance in an organisation now perceived to be run by women.

4. Reviewing personnel procedures and practices

Some of the changes made to the systems and procedures, e.g. staffing policy,

job descriptions and person specifications, have already been referred to. In addition, work shadowing has been used as a means of improving recruitment and selection procedures. The way this works has already been described in Chapter 7 (p608).

5. Targeted press advertising

The message given to potential recruits by the advertisements used to attract staff to an organisation is clearly important. Although it is standard employment practice in the UK nowadays to indicate that an organisation is an equal opportunities employer, the wording of advertisements for Milton Keynes College has given positive encouragement for women to apply (see Chapter 7, p600 for the precise wording).

6. Support systems for women and men

Some of these have been mentioned already – for example, a management development programme for middle and senior managers and peer group support. The college-wide staff development programme aims to support the college mission through the provision of a range of courses related to personal effectiveness, confidence building, assertiveness training and interpersonal skills. There is also a full-time staff tutor who provides a confidential counselling service to staff.

BRIXTON COLLEGE: WOMEN FRIENDLY MANAGEMENT AWARD

Linda Milbourne, Principal, reported.

> In 1987 Brixton College won first prize as a state sector employer in promoting positive and flexible opportunities for women staff. The competition was sponsored by American Express. An analysis had been made of the kinds of working arrangements in operation (job-sharing, support for part-time return from maternity leave, leave for parental responsibilities, selection and recruitment procedures and training opportunities) and, more importantly, how well they were being implemented.
>
> Within the analysis, the numbers of women in the management team, the

numbers of women attending training, and at what levels and for which purposes were included. Positive recruitment procedures, women-friendly working conditions and a developing environment where women's skills and contributions were valued were seen to be some of the factors involved in breaking through the real and ideological barriers that women face in seeking to gain managerial and organisational posts. These factors led to a much higher than average representation of women (approximately 60 per cent) on the management team. I should add that all these developments took place when the boss (my predecessor) was a man. Take heart. Other key factors have been clear staff development policies, targeting women for training – including assertiveness training – and of course clear complaints procedures concerning discrimination and sexual harassment (not least that such procedures were seen to be taken seriously at senior management level).

CONCLUSION

From these case studies can be distilled some elements that are conducive to the successful implementation of an equal opportunities policy and the resulting higher representation of women in senior management positions.

Firstly, there is the element of expansion. As Joanna Tait pointed out, the expansion of college provision and the related budget facilitated the establishment of a significant number of women in the management of her college.

Related to expansion are changes in organisational structure. This is a second element that can contribute to the realisation of a more equal proportion of women leaders. The reorganisation can be caused by growth, but also by merger, as was the case in Amsterdam, South Bristol and in Bilston. These last two colleges both chose a matrix management structure instead of a departmental structure. South Bristol added another interesting element: making use of the possibilities created under the Education Reform Act 1988, they increased the number of positions recognised as senior.

Another common element in the colleges described above is that they all have a clear and concrete equal opportunities policy, which – most importantly – has a high profile within the organisation. The direct responsibility is located in the management team. The importance of this was also stressed by Neil Fletcher of

the former ILEA. He described as one of the most important conditions for the successful implementation of ILEA's equal opportunities policy:

> . . . ensuring that institutions themselves took ownership of the policy. The authority policy documents were placed on the agenda of every college and institute governing body, and the guidelines requiring the governors to respond to the policy were presented to the governors by officers from the authority who pressed the governors to respond positively and to produce after consultation:
>
> - a college policy statement on equal opportunities, including gender;
> - a code of practice for the college or institute, setting out how it would implement the policy to which it was committed;
> - procedures for dealing with disputes, grievances and disciplinary matters arising from the policy, including an indication of the degree of seriousness with which offences would be treated and of the sanctions that would be used against offenders.
>
> (Fletcher, conference paper)

Equal opportunities efforts are most effective when aimed at achieving concrete results. Therefore, an important instrument within the equal opportunities policy is the use of target figures.

Last but not least, a distinct effort had been made at several of the colleges to change the culture of the organisation, in order to make it equally welcoming to all.

PART IV: DIRECTIONS FOR THE FUTURE

Chapter 12

Conclusions and outcomes

RESTATING THE PROBLEM

The statistics show that there is a wide variation of percentages of women in education management. This demonstrates that the under-representation of women in education leadership is not due to lack of female ability but the product of traditional and cultural attitudes and the paucity of opportunities and encouragement.

The barriers are complex and many-faceted. On the one hand, women's responsibility for the household and the raising of children, which is often not shared by their male partners, limits their possibilities on the job market. This is aggravated by the lack of infrastructural arrangements such as adequate maternity, parental and family leave provision, good quality childcare and flexible working hours.

On the other hand, there are the persisting stereotypes and negative attitudes towards women in senior positions. They also affect the culture of educational institutions, mostly run by men, and have a detrimental effect on women's chances. Women are simply not seen as potential school leaders and are not offered the same opportunities for training and management related activities as men. In recruitment and selection procedures women have often been discriminated against.

The result is a waste of talents. A rich source of potential school leaders remains untapped. Students and teachers are deprived of positive role models and the traditional sex roles remain unchallenged. Furthermore, education is missing out on school leaders who have a great innovative strength and other qualities that are called for today.

The above analysis applies most to the countries where there is a strong under-representation of women in education management. As has been stated, the situation varies considerably among the 28 countries represented at the conference.

HIGH AND LOW

What can be learned from countries with a high percentage of female school leaders?

Top three primary education:

1. Portugal
2. France
3. Ireland/Spain/UK

Top three secondary education:

1. Greece
2. Portugal
3. Ireland

From the available information (which is rather limited for southern European countries) we can deduce the following factors that determine the high number of female heads.

Education is very much a sex-stereotyped profession. This is true for Portugal, France and probably also Greece. It is primarily the domain of women. It is also one of the few areas in which women can make a career.

This is often accompanied by the fact that the profession of education has a low status combined with low pay and few promotion possibilities. It is, therefore, not attractive to men. In addition to Portugal, France and Greece, this factor also affects women's representation in headship positions in Turkey. Although no

official statistics are available, estimates are that about 90 per cent of the primary headteachers in Turkey are women. In several other countries teacher training colleges attract almost exclusively female students.

In Ireland, a powerful explanation for the relatively high number of women in education management is the persistence of single-sex education. Women headteachers (often from religious orders) are to be found exclusively in these schools.

As far as available information reveals, in none of these countries have there been any special efforts made to attain this level of fairly equal representation in education leadership.

There is no clear link between the participation of women in the labour market and the number of women in education management. Portugal and France have a high participation of women, but on the other hand the percentage of women in paid jobs in Ireland and Greece is below the EC average (although in Greece many women have unregistered jobs).

Looking next at the countries with the lowest percentages of female school leaders, the following factors emerge.

Bottom three primary education (lowest first):

1. Netherlands
2. Sweden
3. Denmark

Bottom three secondary education:

1. Netherlands
2. USA
3. Denmark

The status and pay connected with education is in general higher in these countries than in those previously mentioned.

Infrastructural provisions like childcare and various forms of leave are of a high standard in the more northern European countries, especially in Scandinavia. It

is ironic that these are the countries that have invested most in increasing the representation of women in education management.

It can be seen from this that the link with women's participation in the labour market is not very straightforward: other factors are also at work. In the Netherlands the relatively low percentage of women in paid jobs, which is related to the (only slowly changing) tradition of the male breadwinner and the family based income, does have an impact on the percentage of female school leaders. Denmark, Sweden and the USA on the other hand have a very high level of female participation in the labour market, so for them other factors play a role.

Unfortunately, the analysis cannot be complete due to the lack of fuller information. An international research project needs to be undertaken to understand more fully the dynamics involved.

MONITORING INFORMATION

Monitoring systems are an important instrument in gathering such necessary information. The lack of information on women's relative position can be considered as a barrier. Some countries do not even keep a record of the gender of their school heads. At institutional level, there are probably only a few schools and colleges that keep complete records of gender, ethnicity etc. of their personnel and their applicants. Experiences in American universities have shown that these data can be influential in leading to women's appointments to senior posts.

Information should also be compared over time. The fact that women constitute 20 per cent of HMI in Britain can be seen as relatively positive considering other statistics. However, to take a longer term perspective, it appears that this situation has not changed in 50 years, despite the increase of women in the labour market. In other countries it was found that the representation of women has been declining over the years.

The fact that the countries dedicated to increasing the representation of women in education leadership still belong at the bottom of the list does not mean that there have been no successes. Without the efforts made, there would be even fewer women heads than at present.

SUCCESSFUL STRATEGIES

The success of one strategy is not always easy to determine because there are usually several intermediary factors at work. On many occasions, several strategies are employed at the same time.

Potentially, the strongest strategies are of course legislation, quotas and contract compliance. Not many governments have chosen this strategy. Another successful tool has been introductory and management training courses for women. For instance, in Norway the government succeeded in tripling the number of female heads and deputy heads in 10 years. This success was mainly attributed to recruitment and management courses for women.

At the college level, circumstances of growth and reorganisation have been turned into a tool for changing the structure, culture and thereby also the gender composition of management teams.

Other powerful strategies include:

- reassessing job specifications,
- training selectors,
- designing guidelines for fair selection procedures (assessment centres),
- facilitating alternative forms of management,
- improving childcare and leave provisions,
- networking and mentoring.

Strategies should not stand on their own but should be embedded in a general policy. The problem has many facets that need to be addressed, and one single strategy cannot be effective on its own. A multi-dimensional approach is needed. A comprehensive affirmative action or equal opportunities programme has proved to be a successful instrument, when well implemented. The general tendency is felt to be that the policy and practice on equality is one of the indicators for the quality of the institution as a whole.

Not all strategies are suitable to all countries. It depends on the local situation, division of power between local authority and central government, recent developments in education etc. Much depends also on the way the strategies are introduced. For instance, in the Netherlands, a rather forceful measure (inviting only women candidates for the first selection interview) was successfully used by several local authorities but still caused problems at one specific school.

From several countries there were signs that the political climate in education was becoming more and more unfavourable to women. In the UK the governing bodies of schools are the arbiters of who is appointed to head/deputy head posts. These bodies have been changing in structure since local management of schools (LMS) was introduced. Many more men than women are now school governors. This skews the opportunity in favour of male applicants. Another effect of LMS could be that schools will reject expensive women returners in favour of cheaper male probationers.

As a result of the Education Reform Act 1988 it is suspected that the relatively limited advances of women are being undermined by governors unsympathetic to or untrained in the need to ensure equality of opportunity.

In the Australian state of Victoria the devolution of powers from local authority to governing bodies has indeed led to a reduction of the number of women appointed as headteacher.

Developments in eastern Europe do not give cause for joy. Women's hard won rights and accomplishments are being eroded.

OUTCOMES OF THE CONFERENCE

For the participants the conference was a unique occasion to share experiences and information on an international level. Politicians, managers, governors, academics and aspiring women alike, all left the conference with more insight into the problems and with inspiration for further action. To potential female school leaders in particular, the days spent in Vienna were a celebration of role models, as one participant put it.

As a tangible result the conference produced a network/database of names of participants and contributors – unique because it spans education from the pre-school age to adult levels; it spans politicians, academics, commentators and

administrators and it spans the world. A second network, of further education managers, was set up during the conference.

A major political accomplishment of the conference was the *Resolution on Europe 1992*, drawn up by the Dutch delegates and accepted unanimously by the participants for transmission to the Council of Europe.

The resolution read as follows:

Directions for the future

The first task should be to get the subject of equality on the political agenda. The current waste of talents is something no country can any longer afford. The emphasis should be on quality:

A. Women leaders can be good for the quality of education.

B. Equal opportunities for women is a quality indicator of an educational institution.

The problem should be tackled at several levels:

Role of government and local authorities:

- improve working conditions and provisions for child care;
- legislate (within the general context of equal opportunities);
- stimulate or demand equal opportunity policy plans and implementation, including monitoring its effects;
- consider more forceful measures such as contract compliance and quotas when other strategies prove disappointing;
- provide (legal) possibilities and stimulate other forms of management such as part-time and team management;
- produce guidelines for unbiased recruitment and selection procedures;

- organise and finance training for women;
- set the example;
- provide adequate information.

Role of schools and institutions:

- draw up a clear, comprehensive equal opportunities plan, which includes the curriculum as well as the personnel policy and which is backed by the management, and get it implemented;
- consider alternative management forms, management structures;
- scrutinise person specifications for top jobs;
- reassess the culture of demanding workaholic hours;
- make efforts to keep women in the service;
- scrutinise recruitment and selection policy, get selectors sensitised to the importance of equal opportunities;
- set up a monitoring system for recruitment and promotion.

Role of women in senior positions:

- change the culture of their institution to be more sensitive to women's working methods and thus in a very practical way develop their existing female staff and appoint new ones as required;
- mentoring/networks;
- changing the nature of the game;
- role models.

Chapter 13

Update and the way forward

Jan Wagstaff
Associate Tutor
The Staff College

This double issue of the Coombe Lodge Reports is a celebration of the contributions of women managers to the education systems of their countries, an expression of the difficulties they encounter and also a final chapter in the Vienna conference.

I first joined the steering group for the conference in September 1990 and was asked to undertake the role of conference secretary, making me responsible for the organisation of the conference both prior to and during the event. For me the successful conclusion of the conference was the aim and when it was all over the job would be finished.

And yet, all this time later, I am conscious that the end of the conference was really just a beginning; a beginning of a series of initiatives and actions designed to carry through some of the decisions and proposals made that cold winter's week in Austria.

Progress is following the normal pattern – movements forward counterbalanced by retrograde events.

On the legal front in the UK, the Equal Opportunities Commission lost an important case in the appeal courts concerning the employment rights of part-time employees. If won, this would have benefited women employees considerably. The case has, however, been appealed to the European Court of

Justice. To British eyes, some European Court of Justice decisions have been based on the spirit and not the letter of equal opportunities legislation. Many of these cases have been brought by mainland European women, notably German, Dutch and Danish, and have established precedent throughout the whole European Community. These decisions reflect a backstop for achieving compliance from employers. There have been some notable judgements in the UK courts and tribunals with many successful equal pay cases being brought against public and private sector employers. There is a slow change in some areas of UK legislation based on European directives – e.g. improved maternity rights, which will come into force shortly. Tax concessions have been made on workplace nurseries but, sadly, few exist as yet.

If the battle for minds is progressing slowly but surely, the battle for hearts is less successful. A leading British employers' body is said to have advised its members unofficially that little attention need be paid to equal treatment during a recession. The government sponsored programme 'Opportunity 2000', designed to encourage employers to select more women for senior roles, has been rather a damp squib with government departments themselves still remaining male dominated bastions. The Bar Association commissioned a report (for internal circulation) which revealed enormous discrimination problems within its midst. The Alison Halford tribunal received much publicity and, although a settlement was achieved before she gave her evidence, there seems little doubt about the extent of the discrimination problem in the police forces.

And what of the education sectors? Since 1990 the increase in the number of female principals and senior managers in the further education sector has been noticeable and very welcome. However, fears have been expressed that the incorporation of further education and sixth form colleges will lessen the opportunities for women to rise to managerial positions and to serve on governing bodies. In the compulsory education sector there are similar fears that opted-out schools will provide less opportunity. It is too early to tell yet whether these fears are indeed true, but it does seem that a climate of macho management and values is prevalent at present.

There is evidence that the reorganisation of education in the Netherlands, leading to fewer, larger colleges, has reduced the number of female headteachers. Mergers and rationalisation may well have a similar impact in the UK. As I write, a woman manager in further education is preparing for her tribunal hearing in October. The merger of four colleges into one super college resulted

in the appointment of 23 senior managers, of whom two were female. It is salutory to reflect that one of the colleges involved in the merger was the subject of an Equal Opportunities Commission investigation into its internal promotion procedures some years ago. Their report highlighted some potentially highly discriminatory practices. One should not judge the present situation until the evidence has been given, but one must wonder how much has changed.

Despite this less than encouraging scenario, progress is being made by women managers in the system.

Charlotte Korbee, a Dutch delegate to the Vienna conference, has been nationally recognised and decorated for her services to the cause of equality in the Netherlands.

In the UK, a flourishing network, *The network for women managers in further and continuing education*, has been born and joins its sister organisation in higher education. This network, chaired by Joanna Tait, Deputy Principal at Bilston Community College, grew out of a follow-up conference in the UK organised by a small group of delegates to the Vienna conference. The network was formally launched in June 1992 and has its own newspaper, **Network**. The network has five main objectives:

- to question management practices and culture;
- to provide personal support;
- to produce information and conduct research;
- to apply political pressure;
- to provide accessible training and development.

There are 11 regional associated networks and it is within these that the major face-to-face activities are organised. These activities range from self-delivered training days, to support groups and meetings of small, special interest groups.

The strength of such a network is in its membership and it is hoped that the pressures of employment in the brave new incorporated world do not sap members' commitment.

Little has been heard from other countries, but it is hoped that the spirit and enthusiasm created by the conference in Vienna is being carried forward as vigorously as in the UK.

Time will tell whether the conference in Vienna was the beginning or the end of a dream. It is hoped for the sake of future generations of students that it was a beginning.

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